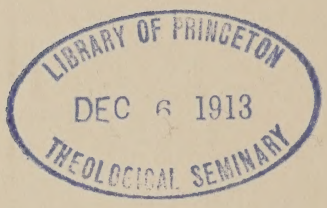
THE IMMIGRANT INVASION

FRANK JULIAN WARNE



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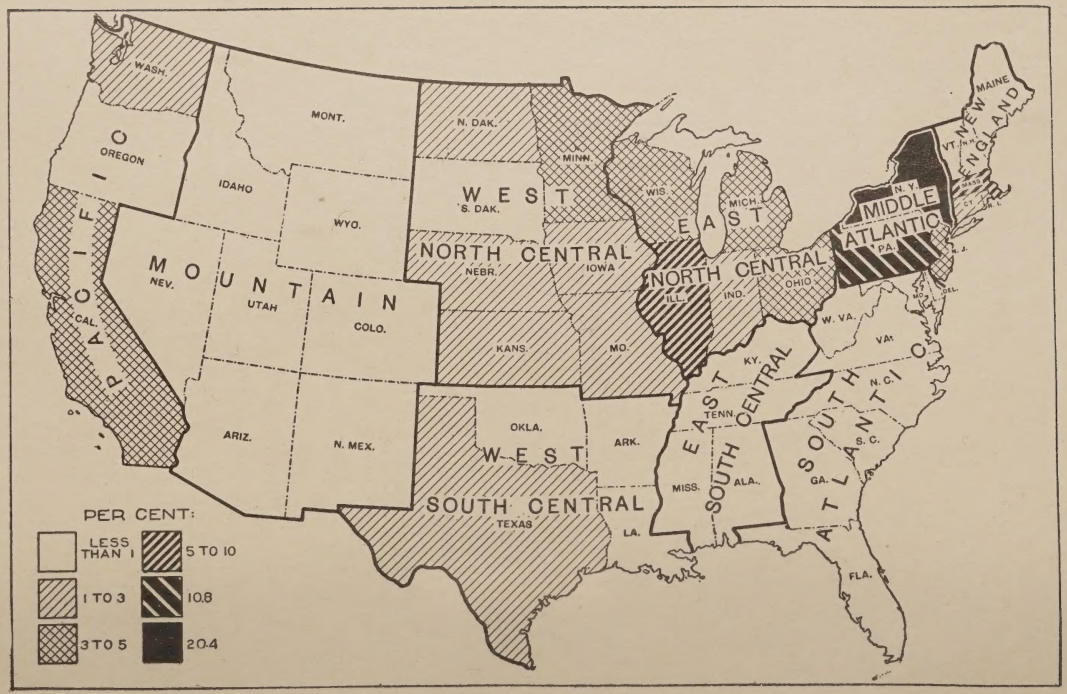
The Immigrant Invasion



DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 1910

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF IMMIGRANTS

This map illustrates the distribution in states and geographical divisions of the 13,500,000 foreign born in the United States in 1910. It indicates clearly a marked tendency toward concentration in two of the divisions and in four of the states, with the result that virtually eighty-four out of every one hundred of all the immigrants are in the North Atlantic (Middle Atlantic and New England) and North Central (East and West) divisions, and nearly one-half of the total—fifty out of every one hundred—in the four states of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In all that vast section south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River, Missouri, and Kansas and east of New Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico are to be found the insignificant proportion of five out of every one hundred foreign born. The Mountain and Pacific divisions, comprising eleven states, have about ten out of every one hundred. The economic causes of this remarkable difference in the geographical distribution of our foreign-born population, the widely varying factors affecting the older as distinguished from the newer immigration, and other significant influences and tendencies, are discussed in the text.

The Immigrant Invasion

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BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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AND

W. H. W.

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The Immigrant Invasion

CHAPTER I

INVASIONS AND INVADERS

WHEN the attention of the people was being directed toward Halley's comet in 1910 the *New York Sun* published a review of some of the more important historical events in progress at the previous appearances of this heavenly visitor. Among these events were the invasion of Italy by the Huns in 373, of Gaul and Italy by Attila in 451, and of England by the Saxons and the establishment of their kingdom in 530. The fact that the comet frightened the Saxons and cheered the Normans in 1066 "possibly influenced the success of William the Conqueror's invasion of England." The appearance of the comet in 1456 prompted Pope Calixtus III to order prayers for the safety of Europe against the invasion of the Turks. And not the least in world importance, the colonisation of America by the English, was coincident with the comet's visit in 1607.

At the time of the appearance of the comet in 1910 there was in progress the most remarkable and in many ways the most wonderful invasion of one country by peoples of foreign countries that the world had ever seen. In the very month of May, when the comet's appearance in the heavens was being heralded in

the newspapers, as many as one hundred and fifty thousand representatives of different races and countries of the world were entering the immigrant ports of the United States. They were equal to one hundred and fifty full regiments of one thousand each; they were double the entire fighting strength of the United States Army. More than one million people from all the countries on the globe were that year passing in a seemingly never-ending stream into the United States—were pouring from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West.

They came from the British and the Spanish Americas, from Europe and from Africa, from Asia and from India, from the islands of the Pacific and the islands of the Atlantic. From the United Kingdom and the Russian Empire, from the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, from the German Empire and the Dual Kingdom of Austria-Hungary, from Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, from Italy and China and Japan, they came. There was not a single geographical or politically organised area of importance from which they did not come. England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Roumania, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Syria, Sicily, and Sardinia, the Cape Verde and Azores Islands, the Canary and Balearic Islands, British Honduras, Tasmania, and New Zealand,

the Philippines, Hawaii, the East and the West Indies, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and South and Central American countries—each and all and more were represented.

The sources of this stream of immigration are four great stocks of the human race—the Aryan, the Semitic, the Sinitic, and the Sibiric. From the homes of these, as they have scattered themselves among the Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic, Lettic, Italic, Hellenic, Illyric, Indo-Iranic, Chaldean, Chinese, Japanese, Finnic, and Tartaric groups, this stream is pouring. The peoples composing it are Scandinavians, Dutch, Flemish, Germans, English; Irish, Welsh, Scotch; Bohemians, Dalmatians, Moravians, Croatians, Poles, Slovenians, Bulgarians, Russians, Servians, Ruthenians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Slovaks; Letts and Lithuanians; French, Italians, Portuguese, Roumanians, and Spaniards; Greeks; Albanians; Armenians, Persians, and Gypsies; Hebrews and Syrians; Chinese; Japanese and Koreans; Finns and Magyars; and Turks. Besides, we have coming to us Berbers and Arabs from northern Africa, Bretons from western France, Esthonians from western Russia, Esquimaux from western Alaska, Spanish Americans from South America. And not even all these exhaust the multitudinous sources contributing to our foreign-born population.

We can get some idea of the magnitude and significance of this immigration of foreign-born

races to the United States by a brief reference to other invasions. Under the general title "Through the Mists," Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, in a series of wonderfully vivid episodes, word-pictures three of the great invasions of history.*

The coming of the Huns to the Roman world in the middle of the fourth century he describes as seen through the eyes of Simon Melas of Constantinople while hermited in the Libyan Desert beyond the Danube. Gazing in the direction of the east, "that far-off horizon across which no living creature had ever been known to come," in the late spring of the year 375 this anchorite sees the whole vast expanse of the plain below covered with horsemen, "hundreds and thousands and ten of thousands, all riding slowly and in silence, out of the unknown East." He sees "their thin, wiry horses, and the strange humped figures of the swarthy riders, sitting forward on the withers, shapeless bundles, their short legs hanging stirrupless, their bodies balanced as firmly as though they were part of the beast. In these nearest ones he could see the bow and quiver, the long spear and the short sword, with the coiled lasso behind the rider, which told that this was no helpless horde of wanderers, but a formidable army upon the march. His eyes passed on from them and swept farther and farther, but still, to the very horizon, which quivered with movement,

*Scribner's Magazine, November-December 1910, January 1911.

there was no end to this monstrous cavalry. . . . All day, held spellbound by this wonderful sight, the hermit crouched in the shadow of the rocks, and all day the sea of horsemen rolled onward over the plain beneath."

Simon had never imagined such a multitude as filed beneath his eyes. " Sometimes the dense streams of horsemen were broken by droves of brood-mares and foals, driven along by mounted guards. Sometimes there were herds of cattle. Sometimes there were lines of wagons with skin canopies above them. But then once more, after every break, came the horsemen, the hundreds and the thousands and the tens of thousands, slowly, ceaselessly, silently drifting from the East to the West. The long day passed, the light waned, and the shadows fell; but still the great broad stream was flowing by. . . . What the advanced sentinel of Europe had seen from the lonely outlying hill, was a fresh swarm (of barbarians) breaking in upon the empire."

One gets from this description of Sir Arthur a sense of the magnitude of the army of invaders that poured in upon the Roman world and which later submerged it. That the Huns did make up a large army there is no question, but—Could it have been as large as the 1,041,570 immigrants that came to the United States in the single year 1910? And if not, How much larger than that of the Huns was the army of invaders which literally poured in upon us the past decade?—A total immigration for the ten

years of eight million seven hundred and ninety-five thousand!

To-day, from out their European homes the descendants of these far-off Huns, long since assimilated by the Roman world, by the hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands are pouring as of old from the East to the West but now across the wide expanse of the Atlantic Ocean into the Western Hemisphere. Their coming is graphically illustrated in the statistics of immigration; their presence in the United States in large numbers is recorded in the statistics of the Federal Census. From a study of these by decades we learn that their migration to this section of the world in such large numbers has only recently begun.

The coming of the Saxons to Britain—of Earic the Swart, of the tribes of Kenna, Lanc, and Hasta in their great red ship "with its gilded dragon-head in the bows"—Sir Arthur pictures to us through the eyes of a Roman soldier under the title "The First Cargo." * The time has shifted. Vortigern, the King of the Britons, has invited the North Germans—"ferocious wolves"—to help him check the southward march of the Picts and Scots—"tattooed barbarians from the north." The Roman soldier reached the Kentish shore on the very day when the first of the Saxons' three great red ships under full sail arrived at Thanet, an island near the south bank of the Thames.

* *Scribner's Magazine*, December 1910.

"The white horse, which is the ensign of these rovers, was hanging from her topmast, and she appeared to be crowded with men. . . . The greater part of the men were sturdy fellows, with red, yellow, or brown hair, mostly the latter. To my surprise, I saw several women among them." Kenna, the leader, is described as addressing the crew before they disembark. The chiefs were "clad in some sort of saffron tunic, with chain-mail shirt over it, and helmet, with a horn of the ox on either side."

Thus is described the invasion of Britain by the Saxons in three great red ships. How many ships of that day, or, better still, how many of the much larger ones of our own day, do you imagine it would require to transport the million and more immigrants now crowding to our shores each year if they all came at one time? One thousand modern ocean steamships would by no means be too large a number! Is not this immigration as much of an invasion as was the coming of the Saxons to Britain or of the Huns to Italy? Is it necessary that the invader should come in warships instead of in the steerage hold of steam vessels before the migration can be called an invasion?

The history of the English people is punctuated with the effects of this invasion by the Saxons, just as is that of the Roman world by its earlier invasion by the Huns. To-day the descendants of the Britons and Saxons and

Picts and Scots are continuing the work there begun, and through their migration by the thousands and tens of thousands to the United States have permeated the people of the Western Hemisphere with their racial strain.

Another of the great migrations of history Sir Arthur describes under the title "The Red Star" *—the star of the Prophet Mahomet, son of Abdallah, and his hosts of followers. In an imaginary interview between the Prophet and Manuel Ducas, commander of a caravan crossing the great Arabian desert, is foretold the Arabs' invasion of Syria and Egypt and Persia and Asia Minor "even to the gates of Europe," and we can imagine it taking place literally as the author pictures it.

Unlike these invasions of other centuries and of other countries, the present-day immigration to the United States is not by organised armies coming to conquer by the sword. It is made up of detached individuals, or at most, of family or racial groups, afoot, the sword not only sheathed but also entirely discarded by those who have no idea of battling with arms for that which they come to seek. They do not come as armed horsemen, with their herds of cattle and skin-canopied wagons. Nor do they present themselves at our doors in "great red ships," with the ensign of the rover hanging from the topmast, and clad in chain-mail shirts and with helmets.

* *Scribner's Magazine*, January 1911.

Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

"THEY COME AS STEERAGE PASSENGERS"

They come, not as victorious groups in their own lands seeking to slay, to destroy, to conquer, but as the despised, the persecuted, the disinherited—as those who have been denied all that for which they long and struggle. They come as steerage passengers with all their worldly goods in the small bundle strapped to their backs and shoulders. Peaceably and quietly they come, so quietly that most of us do not know of their presence. As peaceably and as quietly they distribute themselves into those sections and districts where they have learned from those of their kind who preceded them that they can receive food, clothing, and shelter in return for their labour, and where they hope that in course of time they may acquire those worldly goods which will assure them a certain measure of comfort, political liberty, freedom of conscience, and happiness. They come as the product of European history; they come also as vital factors in the history of the future in America.

More than twenty-eight million * have entered the United States from all parts of the world during the ninety years since 1820! In the course of the nineteenth century, and the first decade of the twentieth century, there came more than five million from Germany, four million from Ireland, more than three million from each of Austria-Hungary and Italy, three million from England, Scotland, and Wales;

*Exclusive of those from Canada and Mexico.

nearly two and one-half million from Russia, nearly two million from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; and about five hundred thousand from France.

If, for the moment, we accept these statistics of immigration on their face and do not subject them to a critical analysis, we find that more than twenty-five million immigrants came within the sixty years since 1850; that more than nineteen million came within the last thirty years. The ten years ending with 1910 gave us a total immigration exceeding 8,795,000, nearly five million of these arriving within the past five years. In the single year 1910 the number of arrivals exceeded one million by 41,000; in the twelve months three years before they had reached 1,285,000, this being the largest single yearly inflow of foreign born in the history of the country.

Taking the average for the past ten years, we find that there came annually more than eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand immigrants; for every month more than seventy-three thousand; for every day, Sundays and holidays included, two thousand four hundred and forty, and for every time the clock struck the hour, day and night, one hundred persons born in some foreign country, not including Canada and Mexico, landed on the shores of the United States.

Truly a wonderful invasion! A stupendous army! An army that has been marching con-

tinually all these years—an army whose ranks, although changing racially, have not been depleted but have steadily and at times alarmingly increased in numbers as the decades have gone by. Here is a phenomenon before which we must stand in awe and amazement when contemplating its consequences to the human race!

Think you that any such numbers invaded the Roman world when the Huns poured in from the East? Was Attila's army one-half, even one-tenth, as large when it overran Gaul and Italy? Did the Saxons in the sixth century invade England in any such numbers? Or, did William the Conqueror lead any such army in the Norman invasion of England in the eleventh century? And yet, upon the peoples of those countries the mark of the invader is seen to this day. Think you that America alone will escape the consequences?

From the point of view of the time when these invading hosts first began coming to the United States in any large numbers, immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, especially Ireland, occupy first place. For the ten years prior to 1830 most of our immigrants were from the United Kingdom. In the decade from 1830 increases in our foreign born from Germany and France are noticeable, and these, with those from the United Kingdom, formed by far the largest proportion of our immigrants down to the nineties. The Irish immigration exceeded the German before 1850,

the two for the ten years preceding 1850 making a little more than seventy-three per cent, or nearly three-fourths of the total. For the ten years following that decade the German immigration was larger than the Irish, and all others as well, it continuing in this leading position until the closing decade of the nineteenth century, when it fell far below the Slavic and Italian immigration, although still exceeding the Irish and English.

Immigration from Canada became conspicuous in the forties. There was a fair amount of French immigration from 1845 and during the twenty years following the war. About 1853 began the Chinese immigration, which continued for thirty years when a stop was virtually put to it by the enactment by Congress, in 1883, of the Chinese Exclusion Law. Following the close of the Civil War immigration from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden grew rapidly, and ever since then these Scandinavian countries have continued to be largely represented in the decennial additions to our foreign-born population.

In the eighties immigration from Italy, Russia, Austria, and Hungary, which ten years later was to dominate all other nationalities, became noticeable. Japanese began to come late in the eighties and continued for about twenty years, until 1910, when this immigration was shut off at its source by treaty agreement between our government and that of Japan. Im-

migration from Greece has grown strikingly in number the past ten years. From Spain, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and other countries immigrants have come in comparatively small numbers. So, too, we have always had immigration from Cuba and the West Indies, and from South and Central America, although it has by no means been considerable. Because of the proximity of Canada and Mexico immigration from both has always been comparatively large, that from Canada being much the larger and in quantity comparable in many ways with immigration from the United Kingdom and Germany.

Although there are a number of ports of entry for immigrants to the United States, the one at Ellis Island in New York harbour has flowing through it a volume so much larger than that of the others, that it has come to typify the gate through which immigration reaches our country. The representative of the United States Government who is stationed there to enforce its laws is not inappropriately called "The Man at the Gate." Before his eyes day after day, year after year, decade after decade, has passed and is passing this inflow of people—these outpourings from the overcrowded and oppressed populations of Europe.

Any one who has visited Ellis Island at the time of the arrival of one of the many hundreds of ocean steamships carrying third-class

or steerage passengers, will have noticed the method by which immigrants enter this country. They frequently arrive in large numbers, one might with accuracy say in droves. From the steamship at the pier in New York they are removed in barges to nearby Ellis Island. They pass into the lower floor of the main building and thence into long pen-like enclosures down which they move in single file. There may be five or six lines entering these pens at the same time. At the entrance to each enclosure is a government inspector, and at the other end a physician who examines hastily the physical condition of each newcomer. About eighty per cent of the immigrants safely pass this examination; then all the new arrival has to do is to secure, in an adjoining room, his railroad ticket, if he does not already possess it. Hundreds are taken to the railroad station by barge, where they board special immigrant trains for their destinations. The twenty per cent who fail the primary inspection are held for a special inquiry—a sort of court of appeal where the immigrant must pass a more rigid examination. Some of these are here rejected for various causes and are deported—sent back to Europe.

Referring to the size of this immigration stream, Mr. H. G. Wells tells us in "The Future in America," that "all day long, through an intricate series of metal pens, the long procession files, step by step, bearing

bundles and trunks and boxes." It is a daily procession that, "with a yard of space to each, would stretch over three miles, that any week in the year would more than equal in numbers that daily procession of the unemployed that is becoming a regular feature of the London winter, that in a year could put a cordon round London or New York of close-marching people, could populate a new Boston, that in a century—What in a century will it all amount to?"

Through the gate to America drips the immigration stream—"all day long, every two or three seconds an immigrant, with a valise or a bundle, passes . . . into a new world. All day that string of human beads waits there, jerks forward, waits again; all day and every day constantly replenished, constantly dropping the end beads through the wicket, till the units mount to hundreds and the hundreds to thousands. . . ." Sometimes so many come that they have to be held back two or three days before they can pass inspection at Ellis Island. At some seasons of the year they come in faster than they can be unloaded. As many as twenty-one thousand have arrived at the port of New York alone in a single day; a single week's cargo has occasionally exceeded fifty thousand. For a single year as many as one million two hundred and fifty thousand have entered the different immigrant ports.

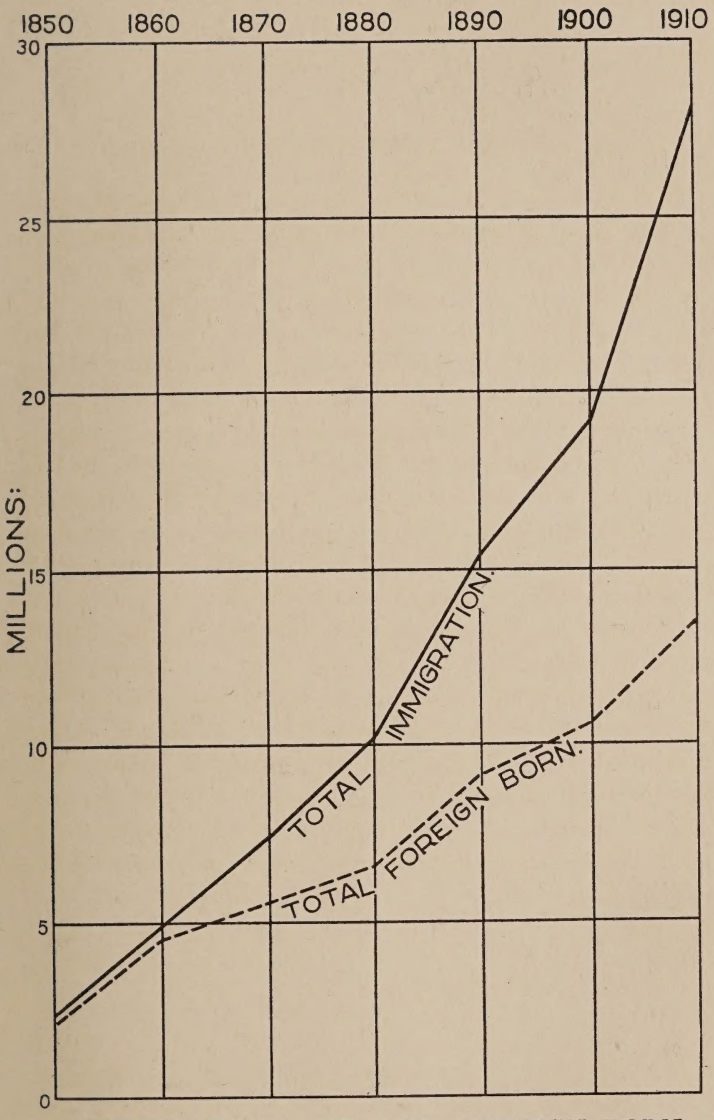
And this is not all. Behind these are others on the Atlantic, and still others farther out on the ocean; more even are embarking at European ports; still others are on railroad trains in different sections of Europe rushing to be embarked; farther back still, in the interior of the European countries, more emigrants are moving from their rural homes and industrial centres for America. And in the minds of other hundreds of thousands the idea of leaving for the United States has been implanted and they only await a favourable opportunity and adequate means to depart for the Land of Promise.

Let us look at the volume of this invasion from another angle. Many millions of those who have come to the United States have died and others have migrated again either to their native lands or to other countries. The government statistics of immigration take no account of these after they have once entered the country.* But indirectly this is done in the Federal Government's census enumeration of the foreign born. Here we have a record of all the immigrants in the country at each decade since 1850, and from a study of it can learn not only the total number and proportion of each nationality but also in what states and sections and cities they are located. By comparing the decennial totals we get a meas-

* In recent years the Bureau of Immigration has begun to keep also a record of emigration.

IMMIGRATION AND THE FOREIGN BORN

The sole source of our foreign-born population is immigration from some other country. But all who come here do not stay here—some migrate back to their home country or to some other section of the world, and still others die here. That is, emigrations and deaths are two factors constantly at work to decrease the number of our foreign born, and if it were not for continued immigration this element in our total population would entirely disappear with the first generation. The total immigration for any period of years must necessarily be greater than the number of foreign born. This is illustrated in the diagram opposite. From 1850 to 1910 the United States received a total immigration exceeding twenty-five million (since 1820 the number has exceeded twenty-eight million) not including that coming from Canada and Mexico, while the total number of foreign born in 1910, including Canadians and Mexicans, fell below fourteen million. At the same time that this is true it is also very likely true that nearly all of the fourteen million here now have come within the past several decades. As a matter of fact, immigration to the United States the past thirty years alone has exceeded nineteen million.



IMMIGRATION AND THE FOREIGN BORN

urement of the true increase of the foreign born after deaths and emigrations have played their part in diminishing the number coming through immigration.

There were in the United States in 1910 more than 13,500,000 persons who had been born in some foreign country.* That is, one out of every seven of our population came here not through having been born here but through immigration. The largest contribution was from Germany, the next largest from Russia; then came Ireland and Italy in a close race for third place, the number of the former exceeding those from Italy by less than ten thousand. Austria, including Bohemia and a part of what formerly was Poland, held fifth place; Canada was in sixth and England in seventh place, Sweden in eighth, Hungary in ninth, and Norway in tenth.

These ten countries contributed more than 11,600,000 of the 13,500,000, or all but 1,900,000 of our foreign born. Their proportion of the total was about 86 per cent. The other countries or geographical and political divisions represented in the foreign-born population of the United States in 1910 were Scotland, Wales, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain,

*Inclusive of Canada and Mexico. It has already been noted that the statistics of immigration do not include the immigrants from these two countries. They are included, however, in the census statistics of our foreign-born population.

France, Finland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Turkey, Greece, Newfoundland, Cuba, West Indies, Mexico, Central America, South America, Japan, China, India, Asia, Africa, Australia, Atlantic Islands, Pacific Islands, and other countries not specified.

Some idea of the magnitude as well as of the startling increase in the foreign-born element of our population can be gained by comparing the census statistics for 1910 with those for 1850. In 1850 the total foreign born numbered 2,245,000; in 1910 more than 13,500,000. Virtually all the latter have come here since 1850, this total including only an insignificant number of those here in 1850. The distribution of our present foreign-born population by principal countries of birth and the number here from each of these countries in 1910 as compared with 1850 follows:

FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

Country of Birth	1910	1850
Total foreign born ..	13,516,000	2,245,000
* Germany	2,501,000	584,000
† Russia	1,732,000	1,414
Ireland	1,352,000	962,000
Italy	1,343,000	3,645
Canada	1,205,000	148,000
‡ Austria	1,175,000	946

* Includes German Poland.
† Includes Russian Poland and Finland.
‡ Includes Austrian Poland and Bohemia.

Country of Birth	1910	1850
England	878,000	279,000
Sweden	665,000	3,559
Hungary	496,000	....
Norway	404,000	13,000
Scotland	261,000	71,000
Mexico	222,000	13,000
Denmark	182,000	1,838
Switzerland	125,000	13,000
Holland	120,000	10,000
France	117,000	54,000
Greece	101,000	86
Wales	82,000	30,000
Belgium	49,000	1,313
Spain	22,000	3,113
All other countries	485,000	52,000

The total foreign born in 1910 came from countries ruled over by kings, emperors, czars, sultans, mikados, shahs, and presidents—from countries politically organised at all the intervening stages from absolute monarchies to self-governing republics.

Religiously they are believers in Roman and Greek Catholicism, Protestantism in its manifold forms and variations; Mohammedanism, Armenianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Shamanism, Islamism, Shintoism, and hundreds of diversified sects, some with such strange names as Chiah, Sunni, Parsee, Nestorian, Maronite, Druse, Osmanlis, Laotse, and so on.

Linguistically they are German, Dutch, Scandinavian, including Danish, Norwegian,

and Swedish; Flemish, English, Gaelic, Cymric, Slavic, including Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, and Bohemian; French, Italian, Spanish, Roumanian, Portuguese, Rheto-Roman, Greek, Albanian, Lithuanian, Lettic, Armenian, Persian, Yiddish, Semitic, Turkish, Finnish, Magyar, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Mexican, Spanish American, and other groups distinguished by the language they speak. Among these are such strange and unfamiliar dialects as Friesian, Thuringian, Franconian, Swabian, Alsatian, Wallon, Gascon, Languedocian, Rhodanian, Catalan, Galego, Friulan, Gegish, Toskish, Pamir, Caspian, Syriac, Aramaic, Shkipetar, and so on.

Some conception of the significance of the numerical strength of the foreign born in the United States is gained by means of a few simple comparisons. They number over three and one-half millions more than all the negro population of the entire country. They equal more than twice the total population, and nearly three times that of the native, of the six New England States; they would populate the seven states of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, the two Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas, with their present density, and still have an extra 1,880,000; they supply a population 1,300,000 in excess of the total found to-day in the South Atlantic division, including, besides the District of Columbia, also Delaware, Maryland, the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and

Florida. In these comparisons it should be remembered that the total population in the respective sections includes also all the foreign born there as well as their descendants and other natives.

Considering the native population only, which includes also the children born here of foreign-born parents, our total foreign born equals all the natives in the twenty-two states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, the two Dakotas, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, and Washington.

Another way of appreciating the relative importance of our foreign born is by realizing what would be the population of any particular section or state if this element were eliminated therefrom. Deducting the foreign born from the total of New England's population, that section would have only 4,739,000 and not 6,553,000. If we take away the foreign born in New York State, instead of a population of 9,114,000 it would contain only 6,384,000; Pennsylvania, if its foreign born were deducted, instead of 7,665,000 would contain only 6,226,-000 inhabitants; Massachusetts, with its foreign born subtracted, would have only 2,316,000 instead of 3,366,000. If we exclude from the total population also the first generation of native descendants of the foreign born, the

comparison would of course be even more striking.

Consider in this connection only the very recent immigration. For the decade ending in 1910 the arrivals approached nearly nine million, this being the largest decennial influx in the history of the country. This exceeds one-third of all the arrivals from Europe since 1820. These recent immigrants alone would repopulate the whole of New England and have 2,242,000 to spare, the latter number by itself being nearly equal to the present total population of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, and Nevada. Take the single year 1910 when 1,042,000 arrived; this number would about repopulate the State of Connecticut; it is more than sufficient to repopulate Delaware, Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, and Wyoming.

And yet in spite of all this Mr. Wells but states a fact in " The Future in America," when he says that the American does not see the immigrant in his midst. " The bulk of the Americans don't get as yet any real sense of his portentous multitude at all," he says. It is quite true that the American does not see the immigrant entering Ellis Island; nor does he see him when he distributes himself in mine, mill, and factory in our large cities and industrial centres, because, usually, the newcomer travels on special immigrant trains, and if by boat he goes in the hold or otherwise different from the native passenger. Once having reached the

colony of his fellow countrymen he is lost to the view of the native. The new arrival as a rule is not engaged in any business that brings him in direct contact with the native; in his colony he lives far away from the daily life of the American; he is found very seldom on the public streets where the native goes, in the stores, or at public gatherings resorted to by the native. Where the immigrant congregates in large numbers in our cities he lives to himself in his colony, which in many respects is a foreign city within an American city. The immigrant enjoys his leisure time and holidays among his own kind away from the American. In origin a peasant, made inarticulate by centuries of caste rule, and forced by generations of oppression to regard himself as being underneath, the immigrant does not clamour for attention. On the contrary he seems to desire that he be let alone. He goes and comes where he has to go and come among the natives, peaceably and quietly. Being of diverse nationality, of religion, of tongue, he is separated politically and socially. His political activities are kept hidden from the great mass of natives by the political boss. With all his peculiarities obscured from view by his complete adoption of American clothes he does not concentrate attention.

Mr. Wells fears that few people fully grasp the true dimensions of this invasion. He says: "Into the lower levels of the American com-

munity there pours perpetually a vast torrent of strangers, speaking alien tongues, inspired by alien traditions, for the most part illiterate peasants and working-people. They come in at the bottom; that must be insisted upon. An enormous and ever-increasing proportion of the laboring classes, of all the lower class in America, is of recent European origin, is either of foreign birth or foreign parentage." To Mr. Wells this immigration seems to bear more the aspect of an inundation than of an invasion, for he says: "The older American population is being floated up on the top of this influx, a sterile aristocracy above a racially different and astonishingly fecund proletariat." Not all of the older population is being floated up, however, for we shall see that a considerable portion is being submerged.

So much for the magnitude of this invasion of the United States. What has brought it about? What are the causes back of it?

CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION

THERE are two basal facts upon which rests immigration to the United States. One, vast areas of virtually free land without people; the other, oppressed populations in Europe without land or access to it. No view of the causes of immigration that does not have for its background these two central facts can secure the proper perspective of this great movement of European populations to the United States.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the sparse population of the United States was largely confined to the Atlantic seaboard. Westward from the Alleghenies stretched an unexplored and virtually an uninhabited country whose extent was unknown but into whose plains and prairies and forests the explorer, the surveyor, the trapper, the pioneer, and the frontiersman had already gone to prepare it for habitation. Here lay trackless forests and untilled plains; great lakes, and rivers equally great; a region rich in soil and mineral deposits and possessing a climate suitable to man's welfare. Briefly, here was a virgin empire needing only the labour of man to yield forth a superabundance of material wealth.

From an elevation of nearly six hundred feet

above the sea in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes the Mississippi Valley descends almost imperceptibly to the level of the Mexican Gulf, its vast extent indicated by the possession of rivers navigable for three thousand miles. Here alone were located one million square miles of fertile land supplying six hundred and forty million acres fit for cultivation, or four million farms of one hundred and sixty acres each, or, if we go a little further, equal to eight million farms of eighty acres each—an immense extent of some of the finest land unsurpassed anywhere in the world. Of this area, exclusive of Louisiana, the United States Government held in trust for the people about one hundred million acres north of the Ohio River and nearly fifty million south of the State of Tennessee that was fit for cultivation. Here, to be settled, were one hundred and fifty million acres of excellent land east of the Mississippi, and approximately as much again was soon to be ready for settlement west of that river. Leaving out of consideration other parts of the country where there was also land for settlement, in the Mississippi Valley alone were three hundred million acres of rich land that only needed to be cleared —land that was the property of a government having as its fundamental creed the welfare of the people and which held this land in trust for the people.

All this land was to be had virtually without price. In all history never had a people had

placed before them for their use such a limitless storehouse of nature's products. Already at the opening of the century the Atlantic seaboard population with feverish haste was breaking through the mountain barriers and opening gates of entrance for that great inrush of population the tread of whose hurrying and restless feet was later to resound throughout the valley.

With this huge stage in the new Republic set for the drama, Europe was preparing the players for their parts. The Napoleonic era was nearing its close. By 1815 the populations of Europe were released from fighting and were again free to take up peaceful occupations. But the Napoleonic wars had burdened the people with heavy taxes and other governmental exactions. A period of business depression and economic maladjustment set in. Monarchy again fastened its grip securely, and the history of nearly every European country gives clear evidence of the people being compelled to endure harsh conditions, not only social and political but also economic. We cannot, of course, examine here these conditions in the various countries. If we could do so, however, we would find they differed only in the details of their manifestation. Such was the distress among the industrial toilers of England and the agricultural population of Ireland, in particular, as to give to the United States, at the close of the Napoleonic wars,

its first large volume of immigration. While there was plenty of land in both England and Ireland, at the same time the laws were such as to place large areas under the control of a comparatively small number of people, and these prevented the population from gaining access to it because the heavy tribute demanded was beyond their means.

To bring the land-dispossessed peoples of Europe on to the unoccupied land in America, the organisation of means and methods of communication and transportation was necessary. This was one of the tasks the new Republic confronted at the beginning of the nineteenth century. With political institutions firmly built on solid foundations the people had at once turned their energies to the development of their material resources. The construction of roadways or turnpikes, the digging of canals, the opening of rivers to the steamboat, and later the construction of railroads, important as all these are in themselves, were merely a part of this great task. By these means the Allegheny barrier was overcome, and before the close of the first half of the century streams of population were pouring into the Mississippi Valley through numerous openings in the mountains, as well as up the course of the Mississippi River.

It is not intended to convey the impression that the peopling of the land west of the Alleghenies has been the sole cause of immigration.

Not all our immigrants have come in response to the call of the land. This may be said to have been the general tendency down to about 1880, a large proportion of the immigrants settling on farms going into the north central and other Western states. These, along with the natives who had migrated from the Eastern states, most of whom also engaged in agriculture, created a demand for manufactured goods. For supplying this demand the older established Eastern states were better equipped. The rapid construction of railroads * brought the East and West into close communication and greatly facilitated transportation. The West's demand for manufactured goods in exchange for its food products stimulated the industrial development of the East. The protective tariff policy of the government kept out foreign-made goods. Iron ranges, copper deposits, gold and silver mines, oil wells, coal seams, and scores of other sources of mineral products yielded of their abundance and this was transformed in the East into manufactured goods to meet this demand of the West. New inventions in improved machinery facilitated this production. It was an era of great increase in wealth, of growth in manufactures and extension of mines and plants of various kinds in the Eastern states. This gave rise to an enormous demand for industrial

*Within the thirty years from 1850 to 1880 the railway mileage of the country increased from 9,000 to 93,000; in 1897 the total railway mileage had reached 185,000 miles.

labour. This industrial development also spread throughout certain districts of the West.

While it is not possible to measure accurately the change by calendar year, yet it can be said as a general statement that since the decade preceding 1890 immigration to the United States has responded less to the agricultural and more to the industrial demands of the country. This decade marks the greatest flood of immigration the country had experienced up to that time.

The dominant causes of immigration to the United States, then, have been the opportunity to possess land which this country offered to the land-dispossessed of Europe, and the assurance to industrial workers of employment at good wages. At the same time it is necessary to take into consideration as causes of immigration other factors that are quite frequently overlooked. The opportunities might easily have been here without any considerable amount of immigration. It was fundamentally important that they be made known to those who would take advantage of them, and the methods which grew up of communicating these facts are in themselves causes of immigration.

Undoubtedly the most conspicuous of these methods—the one that had the greatest influence in stimulating or inducing immigrants to leave their European homes—was letter-writing by friends and relatives already in the United States. Frequently these letters to the folks

at home contained passage money or tickets. Almost as important as letter-writing, especially during the earlier period, was the influence exerted by the handbooks or guides for immigrants, called also views, reminiscences, pocket geographies, and including also books of description and even novels. Printed in the different languages, these were issued from the press in large quantities and were widely circulated throughout Europe. There is also to be mentioned the newspaper for immigrants published in this country, as well as the abundant literature circulated by railroad and steamship companies, land companies, state bureaus, private corporations, and by individuals. Indeed, the amount of this kind of literature which appealed directly and strongly to the self-interest of the prospective immigrant is surprising. In most instances it gave minute particulars and detailed descriptions of everything the immigrant ought to know from the time he began preparations in his European home until his arrival at his destination in this country. In much of this literature were alluring contrasts between the favourable prospects awaiting the new settler in the United States and the harsh conditions surrounding him in Europe; seldom was reference made to the experiences of unsuccessful immigrants.

In addition to all this were the return visits which immigrants paid to their native towns or villages. Whether their stay was for a longer

or shorter period it was not without powerful influence in instilling the idea and in implanting the longing to migrate, especially when the returning immigrant gave evidence, as he usually did, of having acquired what was to his former neighbors great wealth.

The influence and activity of the steamship and ticket agent are not to be neglected. Neither are they to be mentioned merely for the purpose of denunciation, as is often the case. While no doubt his self-interest not infrequently gives rise to abuses, his activities are, in the majority of cases, examples of business enterprise, and as the object of these activities is to stimulate immigration, he must be regarded as a factor in causing immigration. Scattered throughout the various localities in the United States and in close touch with the immigrants who send passage money or tickets to relatives at home, and stationed in the different emigration centres in Europe, this agent has been the instigating cause of many of the inhabitants of European countries leaving for the United States. That he has unduly stimulated immigration by his flattering misstatements and not always truthful accounts of conditions here cannot be denied. In not a few cases the steamship agent is the ally of land and colonisation companies organised by private interests and transportation corporations, and of the large employers of labour.

There are also to be mentioned the activities of the various governmental immigration bureaus organised by many of our states and with appropriations from the legislatures for the express purpose of securing immigrants.

Just how far these different elements that go to make up the system of communicating to the peoples of Europe a knowledge of the better opportunities in America have been in themselves causes of immigration there is, of course, no means of knowing. But that each has had this effect there can be no question.

These letters and similar communications continue at the present time to be the inciting cause of that remarkable fluctuation in immigration to the United States that is marked by alternate periods of industrial depression on the one hand and of prosperity on the other. In virtually all the western European countries there have always been many ready to emigrate, and this is especially true of the agricultural population. But they cannot leave home usually except through friends and relatives in America from whom they receive the means as well as the information to make the change. This can be only when they are sure of easily finding employment.

Consul General Castro reports from Italy that " prospective emigrants are generally well informed by foremen, contractor agents, and friends in the United States as to the chances of obtaining work." The chief reason for the

immigration of skilled labour from Bohemia, according to the United States consul, "is that every workman who comes to the United States and finds work becomes an advertising agent among his circle of relatives and friends left behind." They have faith in what these relatives write them. This transmission abroad of information as to the rise or fall in the prosperity of the United States determines the increase or decrease in immigration from Europe —in prosperous times when business is flourishing, railroads being built, and cities and factories springing up, it encourages hundreds of thousands of the industrial and agricultural classes of Europe to immigrate.

Along with this system of communication as a cause of immigration has gone also the development of transportation, especially of ocean transportation. This has enabled immigration to reach its maximum volume of to-day. In the days of the sailing vessel, even as late as the thirties and forties when ocean steamship navigation had already commenced, immigrant parties were not infrequently as long a time as three and four months on the way from their native home to their destination in this country, reaching the interior West only after slow journeys by wagon, canal, and steamboat. To-day, from any part of Europe accessible to the railroad, the immigrant can reach the United States within at most two weeks. This increase in rapidity of movement has been ac-

Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

A SHIPLOAD FROM AUSTRIA

companied by an improvement in the comforts of passage and a reduction in rates, both conducive to increasing immigration. All these have reached such a point that the vessels have virtually become mere ferry-boats plying between the two sides of the Atlantic, permitting the immigrant to return home immediately upon business here becoming depressed.

In close relation with these three leading causes of immigration—better opportunities in America, adverse conditions in Europe, and the system of communication and transportation—has been the attitude of our federal and state governments. As a general statement, this has always been not only passively but also actively favourable. Unless it had been so we would of course have had very little immigration, for an unfavourable governmental attitude or policy would have prevented it. Only in the cases of Chinese and Japanese and the excluded classes under our immigration laws has our federal government expressed opposition to immigration. Indeed, both federal and state governments have frequently enacted legislation especially to attract immigrants. As an illustration, the legislation of the federal government regarding the allotment and distribution of western land dealt liberally with the immigrant settler, the policy as represented in the Homestead bill signed by President Lincoln in 1862 especially so.

In still another way has the attitude of our

government been among the causes of immigration. This specific cause is our protective tariff policy. By encouraging home industries through preventing the importation of cheaper foreign-made goods, the tariff has increased the demand for industrial labour. Because of the limited supply of cheap native labour, the capital in these industries finds it advantageous to encourage the importation of foreign labour. There is no doubt that this importation by American manufacturers and producers has been at times on a very large scale. Indeed, the direct importation of cheaper European labour under contract became so common and such a public evil that it was found necessary for Congress to enact the alien contract labour restriction law, which is designed to prevent American manufacturers from bringing into the country under contract cheaper foreign labour. In theory this permits one to pride himself on his patriotism; in practice the law falls far short of its intent. To supply the American employer with the cheaper European labour an extensive system of organisation through contractors, employment agents, bankers, and padrones has come into existence. In this sense, then, our protective tariff policy may be regarded as an important cause of immigration. It has not been a rare occurrence for manufacturers to import foreign workers at low wages to prevent wage increases to and even to reduce the wages of American workers. Im-

portation has also not infrequently been brought about by employers in time of strikes, in order to weaken and destroy the labour union among their employés.

When we enter a narrower field of the economic causes of immigration we encounter so many different factors at work that it is not possible to discuss them in detail. All that we can hope to do is merely to mention them.

Over-population, systems of land-ownership, the loss of markets, crop failures, adverse weather conditions and floods, insect plagues, hard times, bad harvests, famines, seasonal unemployment, discoveries of mineral deposits such as gold in California, machine production, the destruction of home industries, competition of female and child labour, factory production, and the like, are a few of these economic causes. In particular was the failure of the populations in most of the northwestern European countries to adjust themselves readily to the new conditions brought about by the factory system of production following the invention and discovery of machines and the application of steam. This meant the destruction of home industries, the concentration of population, and a lessened demand for agricultural producers as compared with the increased demand for industrial workers. This industrial revolution ruthlessly wrenched the people from the soil and set them down in cities and in large manufacturing centres. In the adjustment many of those torn

from the soil in Europe migrated to the United States.

There are many illustrations of the effects of this industrial revolution in Europe upon immigration to the United States. Machine production made useless the foundation of individual skill upon which heretofore had rested trained manual labour, and it heartlessly tore down many hand industries which had been built up on this skill. The inanimate machine did not require long years of training to become skilled, but immediately upon its construction could turn out the finished product heretofore obtained only by means of skilled hand labour. Unemployment, decreased earnings, the competition of female and child labour, strikes, and like industrial consequences brought skilled hand artisans face to face with the necessity of emigrating.

The introduction of machine weaving, for instance, so greatly damaged the once prosperous business of hand weaving along the lower Rhine and the Valley of the Wüpper, as to force the industrial population of those sections into a condition of poverty such as to demand the attention of the Prussian Government. The dislocation of these workers choked Berlin with the unemployed, their places being taken by cheaper female labour. This industrial revolution, based upon the substitution of machine for hand labour, affected the industrial workers of Switzerland in like manner, giving

to the United States, in the eighties, a large Swiss immigration. In England this period of machine and factory production was accompanied by a rapid increase in population, and the two tended to bring about a condition where relatively fewer workers were needed for the production of a greater amount of wealth. Unemployment was a natural consequence. Being already deprived of access to the land by laws that concentrated its ownership in a few hands, there was nothing left for many of them to do but emigrate. They came to the United States because they believed they could find here better economic conditions.

Other immigrants have come also in order to escape the effects of adverse political conditions, or rather to enjoy the benefits of greater freedom under our republican form of government. Ever since that time long past when the Pilgrims landed from the *Mayflower* upon the shores of Massachusetts there have come to us other pilgrims of other races in quest of the same goal. These seekers after civil and political liberty must not be confused with those who came in search of land and gold, nor with those who sought freedom to worship God in their own way. This cause of immigration is as much at work to-day as it ever was. It was most conspicuous, however, following the Napoleonic period, when there swept over the masses of Europe a great movement for popular government. Bonaparte had shattered the

age-long superstition in the divine right of kings and emperors, and the gleam that the burdened people then caught of this force that was oppressing them led to attempts to throw off the yoke. Most of the outbreaks or revolutions that followed were unsuccessful, but while they continued they were the cause of comparatively large immigration to the United States, this country becoming a haven for political refugees.

The character of this immigration is illustrated in the history of Poland following the fall of Warsaw in 1831 and the failure of the revolution as indicated in the dispersion of the Polish army. These immigrant Poles comprised members of the national government as well as officers and soldiers of the army, both of which had been organised to secure Polish independence of Russia. Other political refugees have come to us at different times from Ireland, from Germany, Belgium, Italy, Hungary, and other European countries. The partition of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1799 and the Polish insurrections that followed; the Bohemian revolution against Germany; the Hungarian revolution, the Belgian insurrection, the wars in Italy, and the revolutionary outbreaks in Germany, were thus causes of considerable immigration.

In addition to these revolutionary movements, wars between European countries have also added to our foreign-born population. Such were the great wars of Prussia in the sixties

EUROPEAN SOURCES OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN BORN POPULATION

The shaded portion comprises the countries sending the more recent immigration, while the sources of the older immigration are in outline only. Where figures are given they represent the foreign born from those particular countries who were in the United States in 1910 and not our total immigration therefrom, this latter being considerably larger. For Russia and Austria-Hungary are given figures for the principal races or groups represented in our foreign born from those two countries. The diagram facing page 58 gives an idea of the relative contributions from each of the different countries making up the two groups. The number of foreign born from each of the countries will be found on pages 18 and 19. The countries making important contributions to our immigrant population that are not represented on this map are Canada, Mexico, China, and Japan. This distinction between the sources of the older and newer immigration is of significance in a consideration of the future of immigration to the United States. Note how a line drawn from northeast to southwest across the continent of Europe separates countries having distinct races and civilizations.

SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

and seventies against the Danes, then the Austrians, and later the French. The treaty of peace between France and Prussia transferred to the latter fourteen hundred and twelve municipalities and about one million six hundred thousand inhabitants. To not a few of these this change of sovereignty was sufficiently objectionable to cause them to emigrate, and this accounts for the large increase in the seventies in our immigration from the former French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. So with the immigration to the United States from Denmark in the sixties following the surrender to Prussia of Danish territory.

Governmental oppression founded upon racial antipathies has also been a formidable influence giving immigration to the United States. This is especially true in those European countries where one race has become entrenched in power over subject races. Racial animosities expressed through governmental acts are often cruel and oppressive and thus tend to force emigration. Usually this rule of one race or races by another results in great economic injustice.

This explains much of the German, Finnish, Polish, Lithuanian, and Jewish emigration from Russia, for instance. Should we wonder at it when we hear history telling us that the Empress Catherine the Second gave orders to her military commanders to "destroy forever the Polish name and race"? Virtually all the emigration from Russia—the estimate is as high

as ninety-eight per cent—is non-Russian; in other words, only two per cent of emigration from Russia is Russian proper.*

In Hungary where the Magyar and in Austria where the German is politically dominant over the Slav, somewhat the same general situation exists. The experience of Ireland under British rule only repeats the graphic illustrations. Again, in the Balkan Peninsula we see the population rebelling against Turkish misrule. Poland furnishes an especially striking example, that country having been ruthlessly partitioned among alien races and its people made subject to Russian, Austrian, and German domination in those three countries.

Usually the repressive and oppressive measures causing this emigration are dictated by the desire of the ruling race to assimilate the others. "The Slavic peasant," says Professor Steiner, in "The Immigrant Tide," "is always living under galling political conditions which he is only now beginning to feel in all their severity. With but few exceptions, the Slav is an oppressed man; oppressed by alien rulers, who, by force, are trying to wipe out of his consciousness his national memories, and steal from

*The 1910 census enumeration of our foreign born from Russia shows that more than one-half (51.7 per cent) have Yiddish and Hebrew for their mother tongue, the former being the prevailing language of the Jews. More than one-fourth (26.1 per cent) speak Polish. Lithuanian and German come next in order as the mother tongue of our foreign born from Russia. Those reporting Russian as their mother tongue do not amount to three per cent of all those here giving Russia as their country of birth.

his lips his mother tongue. . . . What the Poles suffer from the Germans, the Slovaks from the Magyars, the Slovenes and Servians from the Austrians, is only additional evidence that everywhere the Slavic peasant suffers politically."

Of all the demands made upon their subjects by European governments that of compulsory military service has been among the strongest influences causing emigration. This is not true of all European countries, and it has operated with less severity in some than in others. This enforced service in the army and navy has been among the causes giving to the United States immigrants from Russia, Germany, Denmark, Austria, and Italy.

Conscription has been more of a factor in Germany, from which country thousands of young Germans have emigrated annually in order to avoid compulsory military service. Evidence of this is found in the official announcements of the penalty and punishment to which they have been sentenced. This has been particularly true since 1866, the right of emigration, which had been regarded as a fundamental one, being limited in that year by the restriction that it could not be permitted by emigration to avoid this duty. It was this compulsory service in the army and navy that caused many young men to whom passports were refused to emigrate across the frontiers. In Austria the law rendering every able-bodied

man liable to military duty prompted not a few young men to leave the country before they reached the age of twenty. In other countries, such as England and Switzerland, compulsory military service has had virtually no place among the causes of emigration.

Early in the beginning of immigration to the United States in any large number, the reports of charitable and philanthropic societies began to show a striking growth in pauperism, poverty, and crime, and upon examination this was found to be confined very largely to the foreign born. Since then and down to the present time there have been numerous investigations of this phase of immigration. A search of our diplomatic and other official records discloses the fact that for years we have attributed largely to foreign governmental influences the pauper and criminal elements in our immigrant population; and our government has addressed repeated but quite futile remonstrances on the subject to the various European governments.

More than seventy years ago Congress began to investigate the matter. In a report of its House Committee in 1838 we find this statement: "The fact is unquestionable that large numbers of foreigners are annually brought to our country by the authority and at the expense of foreign governments and landed upon our shores in a state of absolute destitution and dependence, many of them of the most idle and shiftless class. Many of them are outcasts,

paupers, vagrants, and malefactors from the poorhouses and penitentiaries of Europe, sent hither at the expense of foreign governments." *

It would seem that governmental protests and even the remedial legislation of 1838 did not have much effect in improving conditions, for we find the Committee of Foreign Affairs reporting to the House in 1856 on foreign criminals and paupers that: "Crime and pauperism are the bane of the republic. . . . That these evils have of late years grown far beyond the ratio of the increase of population is an admitted fact. Thousands have come hither to fill our streets as beggars or to become inmates of our almshouses and our charitable institutions. Undesirable as such a population may be, we are yet afflicted with one of a still worse character derived from the same source. Our country has been converted into a sort of penal colony to which foreign governments ship their criminals. It is not only the thriftless and poor who come here, but inmates of the prisons of Europe are sent hither by their governments."

The Congressional report on the importation of contract labour in 1889 disclosed the oft-repeated fact that the governments of England,

*A Royal Commission, appointed in 1833 to collect evidence as to pauperism in Great Britain, reported to Parliament that some parishes had adopted the plan of getting rid of their paupers by persuading them to emigrate to America, and the Commission was so strongly impressed with the practicability of the scheme that it recommended to Parliament its adoption generally.

Ireland, Germany, and Switzerland were still offering various inducements to their worthless and criminal classes to take up their abode with us. It is believed, however, that recent legislation excluding these classes from the country, and what is even more important, the strict enforcement of the law, has tended to remove this attitude of foreign governments as an important cause of immigration, although criminals and paupers continue to come into the country through immigration.

In still another way has the attitude of foreign governments toward elements or groups in their population been a cause of immigration. This has resulted through the government supporting an established church by which a particular form of worship has been made the state religion, with ensuing persecution of the believers in other faiths and of non-conformists. Thus, as the Puritans in the early colonial period had fled to Massachusetts, as the Roman Catholics had taken refuge in Maryland, as the Quakers had found a haven in Pennsylvania, so to-day there are those immigrating to America to find liberty of conscience and freedom of worship. During all the intermediate period the history of colonisation and immigration is punctuated with accounts of refugees fleeing from religious persecution in the different countries of Europe. While these dreamers of dreams, these seekers after "a city whose builder and maker is God," do not come to-day

from the same districts of Europe they came from fifty or a hundred years ago, nevertheless they are moved by similar impulses, whether they be Catholics from Germany, Protestants from Holland, or Hebrews from Russia. Most of the latter have arrived since 1881, which year marks the anti-Semitic riots in that country and the renewal of persecution on the part of the Russian Government.

In dealing with the causes of immigration it is very important to recognise the distinction between voluntary and what has come to be called induced or stimulated immigration.

Of the immigration down to 1880 the evidence appears clear that it was largely dominated by the longing of the land-dispossessed of Europe to secure for themselves a settlement on the free land in America. Induced immigration, as we have come to know it to-day, was then only a slight factor. The exaggerated stories of fabulous wealth and of liberties and opportunities which were told by immigrants returning to Europe and in letters from the United States, had created a "craze for America" which spread throughout all the western European countries and had an influence far beyond our realisation in causing this movement of population.

Much of our immigration since 1880, however, I am inclined to believe, has come in response to inducements of transportation companies and American employers operating

through various methods and devices. The mere transportation of the immigrants in itself means a business of about seventy-five million dollars a year. The steamship companies by steady growth have developed their facilities so as to take care of a large volume, and it is greatly to their business interests to see that this volume is at all times as near its maximum as they can make it. Besides, the constant tendency throughout the United States is for the standard of living of the people to increase; the wages of the workers should accompany this increase and naturally would do so if not interfered with by the bringing in of workers with a much lower standard. But it is to the self-interest of employers to keep wages low; this they are able to do largely through the importation of the cheaper European labour. Thus conditions to-day are more conducive to stimulating immigration.

There have been many summaries or formulations of the chief causes of great migrations of people. The best statement of these causes is that made by Mr. James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth." * He groups them as (1) war, (2) political or religious oppression, (3) the desire of a growing population to find fresh land to cultivate, and (4) the movement of labour from regions where it is abundant and cheap to regions where it is scarce and dear. This classification by Mr. Bryce rep-

* Vol. II, page 471, 1910.

resents all the important economic forces that have been at work. In particular, he believes that it is the third, and latterly even more markedly the fourth cause, that have brought about the vast outflow from the Old World to the New. He adds a very important comment, explaining that the movement has been accelerated and increased by two facts without precedent in earlier times. "One is the extraordinary cheapness and swiftness of transportation by sea," and the other "the facilities which modern methods of advertising have enabled steamship companies to use, and which they have strenuously used, to induce the peasants of the secluded corners of Europe to seek new homes beyond the ocean."

In the long and broad view of the causes of immigration two great economic facts, each supplementary to the other, stand out conspicuously—(1) large areas of land in the United States without people, (2) large numbers of people in Europe without land. Some conception of the significance of these two facts can be had by comparison.

At the beginning of immigration, the United States was a country with rivers twice as long as the largest river in western Europe, the Danube; the Ohio was six hundred miles longer than the Rhine, and the Hudson had a navigation in New York one hundred and twenty miles longer than the Thames. In Louisiana were almost unknown bayous and creeks larger

than those of the Tiber or Seine. Virginia alone was one-third larger than England; Ohio contained three thousand square miles more than Scotland. New York's harbour received vessels that navigated rivers, canals, and lakes to the extent of three thousand miles, or equal to the distance from America to Europe. From the capital of Maine to New Orleans it was two hundred miles farther than from London to Constantinople, a route that would cover England, Belgium, and a part of Germany, Italy, and Turkey.

Even as late as the fifties the population of the United States did not exceed thirty million; to have been as densely peopled as Great Britain and Ireland alone a population of more than three hundred million would have been necessary.

The peopling of the United States by immigrants from Europe is an event deserving a place as the eighth wonder of the world. In 1790 the frontier line of settlement ran parallel to the Appalachian Mountains; one hundred years later, by 1890, there was no longer a frontier line, it having been pushed westward even into the Pacific Ocean. There were only about three hundred thousand square miles of settled land in 1800 and these were confined largely to the Atlantic seacoast; within ninety years the settled land area of the United States had reached 1,950,000 square miles. Here the oppressed of Europe took possession of a virgin

empire; within less than one hundred years twenty-eight millions crossed the ocean. They and their descendants have scattered throughout its borders great cities and have converted it into one of the foremost of nations.

The demand that America made during the nineteenth century for human labour with which to develop its resources and to prepare it for habitation was unprecedented in the history of the world. Here were vast areas of land to be brought under cultivation and to be made to yield corn and wheat and oats, and all the staple products; here were vast water areas, not only to be compelled to surrender their food treasures but also to supply transportation and water power; here were huge forests to be felled; here were treasures of coal and iron and copper and other metals to be transformed for man's use. All this work and more meant the application of man's forces of mind and muscle; it meant the creation of huge enterprises that directed armies of men into the earth and over its surface; it meant the binding in steel bands the prairies and valleys, the tunnelling of mountains, the bridging of streams; it meant the building of great cities.

In brief, in the nineteenth century man had to prepare in America physical habitation for the civilisation that was to come. All this work demanded human energy. The task stimulated man's inventive mind to create in material form machine energy, to harness unseen forces in

electricity, to draw power from rivers. Such was the task before our people that women were put to work in field and factory; even the lesser strength of little children was demanded.

Is it any wonder, then, that in such an emergency America sent forth its call to the oppressed workers of Europe? Is it any more a wonder that the rewards and opportunities it offered drew millions to its shores?

In the fulfilment of such a great and unprecedented task we find the cause or causes of immigration. The coming here of millions upon millions of people has been the response of land-dispossessed populations in the Old World to the demands of a virgin continent awaiting cultivation and development in a New World.

CHAPTER III

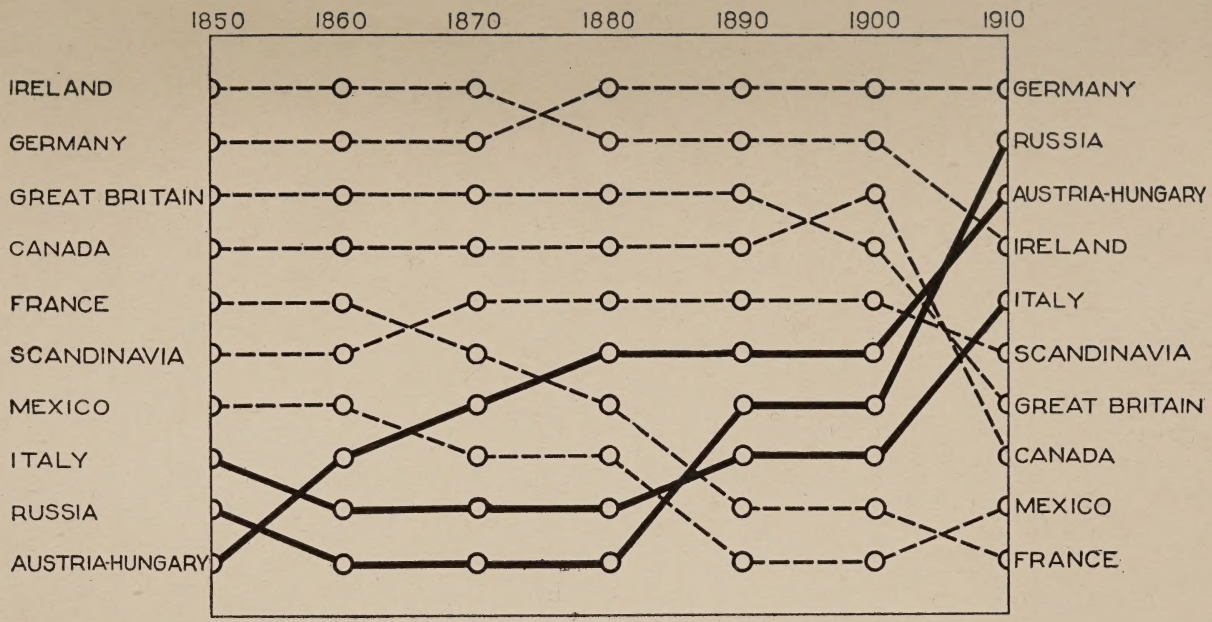
THE INVASION OF SLAVS AND ITALIANS

If we had taken a place by the side of "The Man at the Gate" in the port of New York early in the decade between 1880 and 1890 we would have witnessed the beginning of a change in the racial composition of our immigration that to-day has become of far-reaching significance. We would have seen it transforming from northwestern European nationalities of Teutonic and Celtic stock to those from eastern and southern Europe of Slavonic, Lettic, Italic, Finnic, and Chaldean descent—from the peoples of Germany, Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, and the Scandinavian countries to those from Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Italy.

While as observers we would likely have recognised the change because of the widely varying racial characteristics of the two distinct groups, we could not have even conjectured its growth to its huge volume of to-day or foretold its present significance. If we could combine the imaginative faculty and descriptive ability of Conan Doyle with the clarifying perception of H. G. Wells, we might be able to word-picture its characteristics and graphically to outline the full meaning of it all. Lacking these, we can

INVASION OF SLAVS, ITALIANS, AND HEBREWS

While in most cases the designation of the country in the diagram opposite also clearly indicates the race of the immigrants, this is not true of all countries, especially Russia and Austria-Hungary. Most of our foreign born from Germany are Germans, but those here from Russia are not principally Russians, or more properly Slavs. In fact, only an insignificant proportion—a little more than two per cent. —of our immigration from Russia are Russians (Slavs). By far the larger number—nearly one-half—are Hebrews, and one-fourth Poles (who are Slavs), while Lithuanians, Germans, and others make up the remainder. So with Austria-Hungary. Among our foreign born from Austria in 1910 more than one-fourth reported Polish as their mother tongue, followed by those speaking Bohemian, German, Yiddish, and Slovenian. If Poland were a separate and distinct country, instead of being partitioned among Russia, Austria, and Germany, it would occupy a prominent place among the leading ten contributing to our foreign born. The number in the United States in 1910 reporting Polish as their mother tongue exceeded 938,000. The larger number—nearly one-half—came from Russia. The total from "Poland" was greater than all those here from England at the taking of the last census. This diagram is discussed more fully in the text.



INVASION OF SLAVS, ITALIANS, AND HEBREWS

By following the lines it is seen that no country occupies the same relative position in all the columns for all the decades. This diagram visualises the decennial changes in rank among the countries contributing to our foreign-born population.

The diagram shows the relative importance of the foreign-born population from each of the countries at each census from 1850 to and including 1910. The lines connecting the decades are not intended to represent numerical increases or decreases. It may be that where a line drops from a higher to a lower place of importance in one decade as compared with another, and which might be assumed to mean a decrease in the foreign-born population from that particular country,—it may be and usually is found to be true that there is a larger number from that country in the later than in the earlier period. Let us illustrate. Great Britain held third place in 1850; sixty years later it had dropped to seventh place; and yet in 1910 there was a larger population in the United States from Great Britain than at any other census in our history. It had a lower place primarily because other countries increased their representation to a much greater extent. There are instances, however, where the decline in position has been partly due to that country having a less number in the later than in the earlier decade. This is true, for instance, in the case of Ireland, there being a less number in

the United States in 1910 as compared with 1860.

The largest number of foreign born in the United States in 1850, as will be seen by a study of the diagram, came from Ireland, the second largest number from Germany, the third largest from Great Britain, the fourth from Canada, fifth from France, and so on down the first column. This order of importance of the six leading countries was the same in 1860. Ten years later France had given up fifth place to Scandinavia and Mexico seventh place to Austria-Hungary. By 1880 the changes show the supplanting of Ireland by Germany in first place, Ireland dropping to second, and the continued progress of Austria-Hungary to sixth place, supplanting France. Between 1880 and 1890 the important changes were the rise of Russia, which for thirty years had continued in tenth place, to seventh, and of Italy to eighth place from ninth. The only change in the ranking of the ten leading countries between 1890 and 1900 was that between Great Britain and Canada, the former dropping from third to fourth and the latter rising from fourth to third place.

But increasing immigration from southern and eastern European countries in contrast with a decline in that from northwestern Europe, especially since 1890, was piling up the number of foreign born from the newer immigrant countries and giving to their growth an

increasing momentum that in 1910 burst upon our attention with startling suddenness. Germany alone of all the older immigrant countries was unaffected, it still holding first place of importance. But Ireland, Canada, and Great Britain all dropped considerably, Ireland from second place in 1900 to fourth place in 1910; Canada from third to eighth, and Great Britain from fourth to seventh.

These changes were caused primarily by the enormous increases in the foreign born from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Russia rose from seventh place in 1900 to second place in 1910; Austria-Hungary from sixth to third, and Italy from eighth to fifth.*

The diagram on page 58 shows the movement among the foreign born from each of the principal countries for the sixty years since 1850 according to their numbers in hundreds of thousands. Germany began with nearly 600,000 in 1850 and rose rapidly to more than 2,800,000 in 1900, declining to about 2,500,000 at the present time. Ireland started with not quite 1,000,000 in 1850, jumped to more than 1,800,000 by 1870, virtually remained stationary the following two decades, and dropped to less than 1,400,000 in 1910.

Note the remarkable rise of Austria-Hun-

*Since the last census enumeration the immigration from Italy has been so much larger than that from Ireland that to-day Italy holds fourth and Ireland fifth place of importance. In 1910 there were only about ten thousand more Irish than Italians in the country.

gary, Russia, and Italy since 1880, and in particular since 1890. Each was represented by less than 200,000 in 1880, and in the cases of Russia and Italy even as late as 1890. By 1900 Austria-Hungary had exceeded the 600,000 mark, Russia had nearly reached it, while Italy had almost 500,000. When the last census was taken Russia had jumped to about 1,700,000, Austria-Hungary to more than 1,600,000, and Italy to more than 1,300,000.

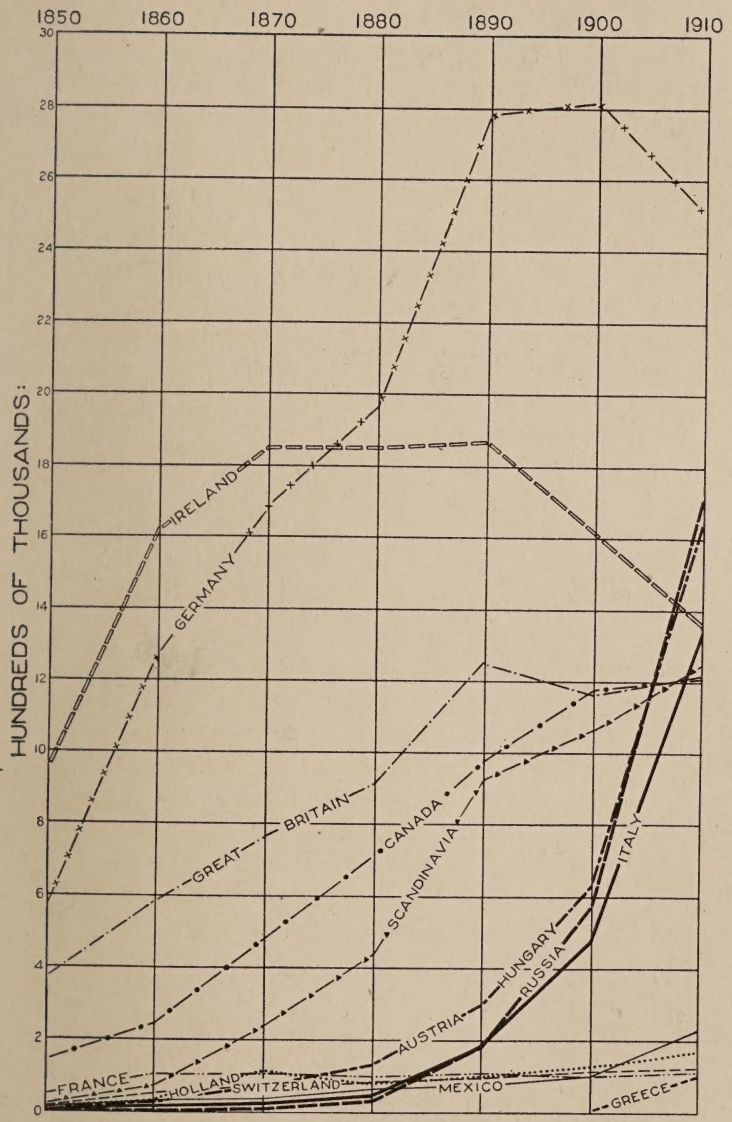
During the past decade Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, and Canada gave only slight increases in our foreign born.

Separating the countries into two broad groups, we get comparisons of far-reaching significance. In the absence of better terms we shall occasionally refer to the foreign born from the countries supplying the earlier immigration as English-speaking and to that from those contributing the more recent immigrants as Slavs and Italians, although these terms are not accurate to scientific precision. The former includes immigrants here who were born in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Canada, Germany, France, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries; the latter comprise those from Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, including also those from Poland and Bohemia.

When the census in 1850 first enumerated our foreign-born population as distinguished from that born in the United States, there were in the

THE RESULTS OF SIXTY YEARS OF IMMIGRATION

When the Federal Census in 1850 began its enumeration of our foreign born there were nearly one million here from Ireland, not quite six hundred thousand from Germany, and about four hundred thousand from Great Britain. The larger number, especially from Ireland, had come in the decade preceding 1850—during the so-called "Famines" in Ireland, marking a period which has come to be designated in Irish history as "The Exodus." The lines on the diagram representing the different countries show how rapidly the foreign born from Germany increased from 1850 to 1890, then for ten years remained almost stationary, and since 1900 decreased. Those from Ireland did not increase so rapidly; they reached their highest number in 1870, remained almost stationary for twenty years, and since 1890 have shown a marked tendency to decrease. Another striking tendency reflected in the diagram is the movement among the foreign born from the eastern and southern European countries. The number was insignificant to 1880, increased slightly by 1890, more rapidly for the next ten years, while from 1900 to 1910 the increase has been so large as to force Russia and Austria-Hungary above all the countries excepting Germany, and Italy to a point just below Ireland.



OUR FOREIGN BORN BY DECADES AND COUNTRIES

country a total of about 2,168,000 of the older or English-speaking group; they made up all but seventy-seven thousand of our entire foreign born. They increased in numbers at each decade down to 1890, when there were as many as 8,120,000. These decreased to 7,892,000 during the following twenty years.

At the same time their proportion of the total dropped from ninety-seven per cent in 1850 to fifty-eight per cent in 1910. In other words, in 1850 ninety-seven out of every one hundred of our foreign born were of the English-speaking group, while at the present time only fifty-eight out of every one hundred are of those nationalities.

In the case of the Slavic and Italian group the difference between the numbers in 1850 and in 1910 is considerably more marked. While the English-speaking races did not quite quadruple during the sixty years, there were more than eight hundred and twenty-six times as many Slavs and Italians in 1910 as sixty years before.

At the beginning of the period they numbered only six thousand, and even as late as 1890 they were only a little more than eight hundred thousand; in 1910 they were nearly 4,967,000. There was no decrease in the total in 1900 compared with 1890 as was the case with the English-speaking group. On the contrary, they more than doubled.

While the proportion of the English-speaking

during the sixty years fell from ninety-seven to fifty-eight per cent, that of the Slavs and Italians, forming less than three-tenths per cent in 1850—an infinitesimal proportion—rose to more than thirty-seven per cent of the total foreign born in 1910. To-day, out of every one hundred foreign-born persons in the United States as many as thirty-seven are Slavs and Italians.

The comparative figures for the two groups are as follows:

	1850	1910
Total foreign born....	2,245,000	13,516,000
English-speaking	2,168,000	7,892,000
* Slavs and Italians..	6,000	4,967,000

When we study the relative parts taken in these statistics by the races that go to make up the older or English-speaking group, we find striking internal changes. For instance, there were actually fewer Irish, English, Scotch, French, and Welsh in the United States in 1900 than ten years before. In the case of the Irish there were less than in 1870, and only a little more than four thousand greater than in 1860. With the French there were over five thousand less than in 1860. The largest loss between

*Includes besides Italy, Russia, Austria, and Hungary, also Finland, Austria-Hungary not specified, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Turkey in Europe, Greece, and Poland (unknown), the last nine groupings having 377,000 foreign born in the United States at the taking of the recent census.

1890 and 1900 was in those from Ireland, being 256,000, and the next largest, 69,000, in those from England. Thus if the United States had depended upon these countries for a growth in its foreign-born population in recent years, it would have been disappointed.*

The same general tendency within the English-speaking group is noticeable for the decade just closed. Ireland, Germany, and Wales have each a less number in the United States in 1910 than ten years before, their total loss exceeding 587,000, that of Germany being 312,000 and of Ireland 263,000. There was a less number of Irish in the United States in 1910 than in 1860 by more than 259,000. The other countries of this group each show a gain over the number in 1900, but taken all together their combined gain was not sufficient in amount to offset the total loss by Germany, Ireland, and Wales. In consequence, the entire English-speaking group had 127,000 less in 1910 than in 1900; there were 234,000 less than in 1890.

While the total gain in our entire foreign born for the past ten years was 3,175,000 that from the Slavic and Italian group was even

*While the loss from these five nationalities was 349,000, that of the total foreign born of all the English-speaking group was only eighty-one thousand. In consequence, some of the others in this group must have gained to offset this difference. More than one-half of this gain came from Canada alone, and the remainder from Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland. The net loss from the twelve countries which heretofore had been contributing so largely to this element of our population was 107,000.

greater, being 3,187,000. The three countries, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy, alone supplied an increase nearly as large as the total gain from all the countries contributing to our foreign-born population.

The enormous increase of 4,250,000 in our foreign born since 1890—from 9,250,000 to 13,500,000—has been most largely due to the immigration of Slavs and Italians.

The suddenness with which this change in the racial composition of our foreign-born population has taken place is more clearly shown in another way. The diagram already given on page 54 indicates that the change was comparatively gradual. That diagram is based on the *total* number of the foreign born of each nationality in the country at each decade. If we take, instead, the *increases* by decades, employing the same principle as guided us in making the first diagram, we find that during the thirty years from 1880 the Slavs and Italians increased so rapidly as to bring about a complete revolution, by which they supplanted entirely the older group of immigrant races in first places as to increases.

By 1900 Italy showed the largest increase of any country contributing to our foreign born; Russia the second largest, Austria the fifth, and Hungary seventh. The same tendency continued for the following decade, the Slavic countries and Italy holding first places in 1910 as to increases. Russia had the largest increase

—the number exceeding one million; Italy the next largest with an increase of 859,000, and Austria third with an increase of 684,000. If Hungary, with its separate increase of nearly 250,000, were combined with Austria it would place Austria-Hungary in second place as to increases. The countries of the English-speaking group, other than Germany, Ireland, and Wales, had each an increase, but in no single case did it amount to as much as one hundred thousand, the largest being eighty-three thousand by Sweden.

The parts the English-speaking and the Slavic and Italian groups have taken in the increases in our foreign born at each decade are contrasted in the following: *

FOREIGN BORN INCREASES BY DECADES

	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
All foreign born...	1,928,000	1,428,000	1,113,000	2,570,000	1,092,000	3,175,000
English-speaking...	1,820,000	1,299,000	862,000	1,971,000	107,000*	127,000†
Slavs and Italians...	40,000	65,000	153,000	552,000	1,053,000	3,187,000

A statistical study of the foreign born by decennial increases shows clearly the rapid rise of the newer races and the striking decline of those of the older group.

Of the total increase in our foreign born from 1850 to 1860 two countries, Germany and Ire-

*The difference between the sum of the English-speaking and Slavic and Italian groups and the total foreign born is made up by increases from such countries as Mexico, China, Japan, and a score and more minor countries whose increases it has not been thought important enough for our present purpose to record here.

†Decrease.

land, contributed about seventy out of every one hundred. If England, Scotland, and Wales also be included, more than eighty out of every one hundred of the increase in that decade came from the United Kingdom and Germany.

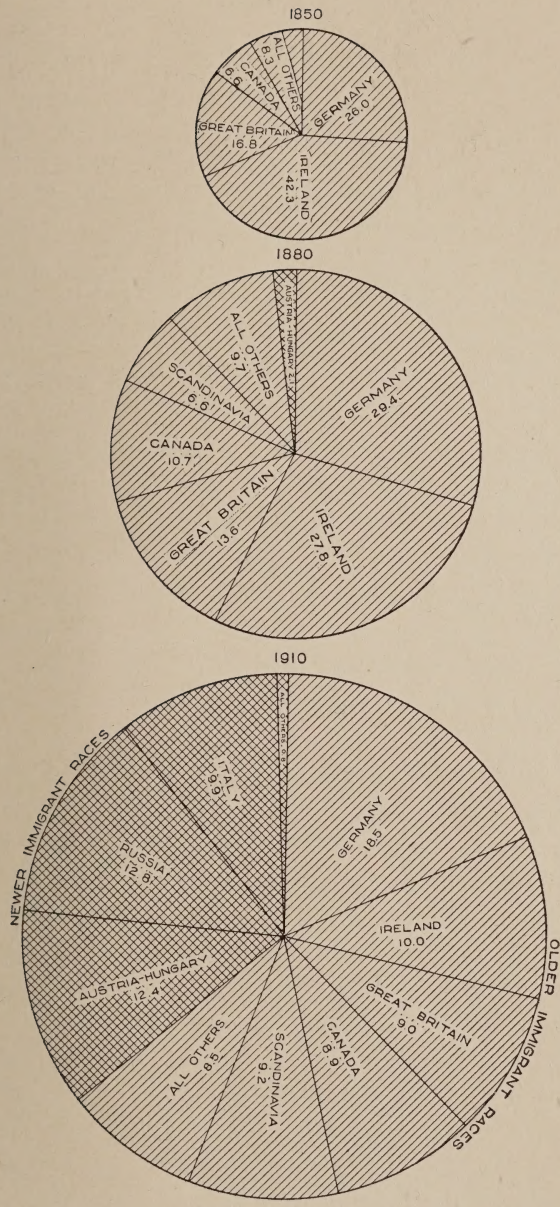
Passing over the gradual changes during the following years, we find that the Slavic and Italian group contributed more than ninety-six per cent between 1890 and 1900 and in excess of one hundred and three per cent between 1900 and 1910. Italy and Russia gave a slightly greater proportion of the net increase in our foreign born during the ten years preceding 1900 than Germany and Ireland did of the increase for the ten years preceding 1860.

This change in the racial composition of our immigration which has been emphasised has come about too recently for its full effects upon the institutions and characteristics of the American people to be clearly seen. But one can, nevertheless, prophesy with considerable certainty that these effects are to be of tremendous significance, not only institutionally but also racially or ethnologically. As an illustration we need only refer briefly to the extent to which the foreign-born element has already entered into the racial strain of the native population, contrasting the newer with the older immigration.

While our foreign born in 1910 exceeded thirteen million, at the same time more than one-third—as many as thirty-two million—of

GROWTH AND CHANGES IN THE FOREIGN BORN

These diagrams illustrate the increase in the total foreign-born population. The one representing the foreign born in 1880 is nearly three times as large as that for 1850, there being about three times as many in the United States in 1880. The diagram for 1910 is twice as large as that for 1880, there being twice the number of foreign born. Similarly, comparing 1910 with 1850, the diagram for the former is six times the size of that for the latter, the foreign-born population in the sixty years multiplying six-fold. Another comparison of importance clearly indicated in these diagrams is the changes that have come about in the foreign-born population as between the older and newer immigrant races. The proportional changes among the countries making up the total foreign born at each of these census periods are also shown in the three diagrams. For illustration, Ireland's proportion dropped from 42.3 per cent. in 1850 to 27.8 per cent. in 1880 and to 10.0 per cent in 1910—from more than two-fifths in 1850 to only one-tenth in 1910. Other countries increased their proportion. Each diagram also permits a comparison of the proportion of one country with that of another.



GROWTH OF AND CHANGES IN THE FOREIGN BORN

the total population of the entire country was of foreign white stock. That is, in addition to the foreign born themselves we had almost an equal number—not quite thirteen million—of their children born here. The remaining six of the thirty-two million were also born in this country but instead of both parents being foreign born only one was foreign born, while the other was native. In other words, one out of every three of the population of this country was born abroad or had parents one or both of whom were born in some country other than the United States. By far the larger proportion of this foreign stock was from the older immigrant races.

To make clear this characteristic feature of the effects of immigration let us examine it a little more in detail.

In the United States in 1910 there were 2,500,000 persons who had been born in Germany. In addition, there were also here more than twice as many—5,783,000—having Germany as their country of origin, being only one generation removed. Of these, as many as 3,912,000—a number largely exceeding the foreign-born Germans themselves—were born in the United States of parents born in Germany; the remaining 1,871,000 were also natives but with one parent only born in Germany, the other being a native of the United States. Here is a total of 8,283,000 of our population traceable directly to German

stock. Even all these fail to account for the total here of German stock, as they do not include natives of the United States one of whose parents was born in Germany and the other in a different European country.

But the increase in German stock has about reached its limit. Decreasing immigration and an increasing number of deaths are at work, as indicated in the fact that there was an increase of barely four per cent in German stock in the United States in 1910 over 1900. This tendency is even more striking among other groups of the older immigration, persons here having Ireland and Wales as countries of origin, for illustration, having actually decreased in number the past decade.

In contrast with this will be the tendency for the coming thirty or forty years among the newer immigrant races. In 1910 Russia formed only 8.5 per cent and Italy only 6.5 per cent of our foreign stock population. But at the same time there was for Russia an increase of 205 per cent and for Italy of 188 per cent in their contributions to our foreign stock during the past ten years.

It takes but little imagination to project the view into the future and see what effect the recent striking increase in our Slavic and Italian foreign born is to have upon the racial strain of the coming generation or two of natives. The relative magnitude of the contrast of these with the older immigrant races is due, of course,

to the difference in the time of arrival upon our shores of the immigration from the two groups of countries—the Slavs and Italians have not been here long enough as yet to give as large a foreign stock as the northwestern European races have given.

CHAPTER IV

DISTRIBUTION — THE OLDER IMMIGRATION

A CHANGE in the racial make-up of immigration to the United States is marked, as we have seen, by the decade from 1880. During that period and ever since, there has increased among us in startling numbers a group of European races which heretofore had been almost unrepresented in our foreign-born population. Their coming was accompanied by marked decreases among most of the nationalities which up to that time had formed the bulk of our immigration. This change in racial composition was almost simultaneously accompanied by an equally significant change in the geographical distribution within the country of the foreign-born population. Let us first see how the immigrants prior to 1880 were distributed.

When the foreign born enumerated in the census of 1850 began coming to this country, the South Atlantic as well as the North Atlantic states were already comparatively well settled. The then population, mostly agricultural, was distributed largely along the eastern seaboard, extending from Maine nearly to Florida, and in the region known as the Atlantic plain; few inhabitants were to be found west of the

Appalachian Mountains, those "unknown regions which lay along the waters of the Mississippi." In fact, scarcely twenty thousand acres of the far western part of these immense domains had been surveyed and mapped.*

Professor McMaster, in his "History of the People of the United States," † tells us that "less was known of the country than of the heart of China. There the Indians hunted the buffalo and the deer, and the trappers, unmolested, laid snares for the beaver and the mink. The great valley of the Ohio was little better than a wilderness. It was infested by roving bands of Indians. It swarmed with wild beasts." Even the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers were then unknown; the west of the Mississippi was still an undiscovered country. Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were regarded as the far west.

By 1850 migration westward had been in such numbers that it seriously threatened at times to depopulate the Eastern states. During these years the exodus from the East was most marked and the growth of the West most rapid. The fertility of the soil, the healthfulness of the climate, the many natural resources of forest and stream, and, above all, opportunity to own the land they cultivated attracted settlers

*At the first enumeration of our population in 1790 there were only 4,280 inhabitants in all the territory from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes and from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River.

†Vol. I.

who marked out the sites of what to-day are opulent and mighty cities, such as Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville. "The rapidity with which hamlets and settlements in the Ohio Valley grew to be towns and cities," says Professor McMaster, "has no parallel in the history of America, unless, indeed, it be in California. The population along the Ohio has from the first gone on doubling and trebling every few years. Indeed, it appears by the census of 1880 that more than one of the cities of that region has, within the last ten years, increased the number of its inhabitants by more than seventy per cent." *

Referring to the movement westward, Professor McMaster gives us several interesting sidelight views. "Early in the spring," he says, "families set forth from almost every town and city along the seaboard. Their departure excited no comment, for in general but few went from any particular locality. But the moment they struck the great highway in New York and Pennsylvania their aggregation produced an almost continuous stream of wagons, carts, and foot parties." One traveller passed as many as two hundred and seven conveyances, twenty-nine herds, twenty-seven droves, and three thousand people. "In 1833 eleven steamboats carried forty-three thousand immigrants from Buffalo to points west. Two years later, almost every vessel, and four hundred arrived

*Ibid., Vol. I.

that year, came crowded with passengers. The streets of the town were choked with wagons loaded with furniture, household goods, and farming implements. Foot passengers, too, with well-filled sacks on their shoulders, came in throngs. Twelve hundred souls, it was said, left Buffalo every day for the far west. During 1845 the number was ninety-six thousand." *

In cases whole villages in the East were deserted; there the towns and cities at times ceased growing, some being almost depopulated. This westward movement was first conspicuous between 1810 and 1820. The late thirties are noted for extravagant improvements in the western states and for wild speculation in land there which was brought on by the rush of people westward. Michigan's phenomenal increase in population only repeated that of other western sections—from a frontier territory it had grown to be a state in less than fifteen years—from a population of eighty-seven hundred in 1821 it had increased to more than one hundred thousand by 1836.

This craze for migration to the interior West was partly induced by the publication of scores upon scores of letters, maps, guides, views, reminiscences, pocket geographies, diaries, notebooks, pocket companions, journals, histories, and even novels, each and all aiming to present the key that would open the way into that great section. Much of this literature, par-

*Ibid., Vol. VII, page 192.

ticularly that in the different European languages, was by disinterested observers and older immigrants, whose purpose it was to supply impartial information; but a large part was also issued by states, land and railroad companies, and individuals who had a pecuniary object in directing immigrants into particular sections and states.

These "guides" touched upon such subjects as the expense of the sea and land voyage from Europe, the geographical description or location of the section or state, the different routes to it, the general characteristics of the country, its population, climate, soil, crops, commercial possibilities, transportation means and rates, the selection of a location, opening a farm, profits of farming, real estate values, mineral resources, state of employment, wages paid, schools, churches, newspapers, forms of government, and usually tables of distances from and to places adjacent. Another feature of these guides was the detailed explanation of the laws governing the distribution of the western land to settlers, and information and advice to European immigrants on a great many subjects, such as the best season for emigrating, regulation of diet during the voyage, dress, the articles they should not bring along from their old home, as well as a list of things they should bring, and so on. Of all this information literature, by far the most important in influencing the settlement of the West were the

letters sent back home to the immigrants' friends and relatives.

In describing the single main route for immigrants to Minnesota (that by way of Galena and Dubuque up the Mississippi River) a writer of one of these guides, referring incidentally to some of the inconveniences experienced by the traveller of that day, says that "the rush of immigrants is so great, that the boats, especially in the early part of the season, are frequently crowded to excess, the berths being not only all taken, but every inch of the cabin floor being required to pack away the passengers at night." And the rapidity with which the section was being settled is indicated in the casual remark of the writer in describing the villages along the immigrants' trail in Minnesota: "These villages are all of recent growth, and several of them will doubtless become places of considerable importance within a few years." The same writer says that only brief notice can be given of some of the more important towns in Minnesota for the reason that "so rapidly do new towns spring up, and those already laid out increase, that it would keep a person constantly travelling to attempt any correct account of the progress of towns and cities." *

In 1852, according to Hans Mattson, a Swedish immigrant, in an address at Minneapolis to his fellow countrymen, "the red man chased

*The Immigrants' Guide to Minnesota. 1856.

his game in the woods where our churches and schoolhouses now stand; the country west of us was an unknown wilderness, Minnesota did not exist as a state, and many of our western cities, which now contain millions of happy inhabitants, were not even projected. Now, on the contrary, our state alone is a mighty empire."

All this within thirty-five years. The rush of immigrants into Iowa in 1843 "brought into that section the first white settlers." Then the country was a wilderness, inhabited by savages and wild beasts. Within a year a comparatively large population had moved in, and the axe and the plough soon converted the wik-e-up of the Indian into the log cabin of the white man and the rich plains into cultivated fields.*

Population, then, was pushing its resistless way into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys—into the regions of the great lakes and interior rivers and broad plains and prairies. It pressed close upon the heels of the hardy pioneer and lusty backwoodsman, for it was only in the latter part of the century before, that Clark and Boone and their kind had wrested this wilderness garden spot from the Indian and his British ally. Theodore Roosevelt, in "The Winning of the West," gives an admirable word-picture of the background to the settlement of that great domain. In reading his account of the trials and dangers of the early

*Regan's Emigrants' Guide to the Western States of America.

pioneer settler one begins faintly to realise and to appreciate the great debt of gratitude which this generation owes to those whose foresight and courage and suffering conquered for us and for the alien from across the sea this great kingdom of the West.

In the thirties had come the first wave of European immigration since the close of the Napoleonic wars, the number of arrivals increasing from twenty-three thousand in 1831 to seventy-nine thousand six years later. The crest of another wave was observable in 1842, when there were more than one hundred thousand alien arrivals.

The greatest inrush the country had experienced reached its height at the time of "The Exodus" from the United Kingdom and the Continent, particularly from Ireland, about 1848, when the number of immigrants annually arriving amounted to nearly three hundred thousand. The ten years from 1850 marked the largest decennial immigration that had taken place up to that time, nearly two million six hundred thousand aliens arriving from Europe. Of these, 1,338,000 came from the United Kingdom and 900,000 from Germany. By far the largest number from the United Kingdom was from Ireland, being 750,000, and the next largest, about 247,000, from England. Some seventy-six thousand arrived from France. Thus from the United Kingdom, Germany, and France came more than ninety per cent of all

immigrants to the United States for the ten years preceding 1860. There were indications in 1859 that another great immigration movement to this country was impending, but this was checked temporarily the next year by clearly evident signs that the Republic was about to be plunged into bloody civil strife. It did wash upon our shores, however, at the close of the war.

Thus almost literally waves of humanity surged across the broad Atlantic, breaking and dispersing their elements as far west as the Mississippi River, and even beyond. These onrushing Germans, Irishmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welshmen, and Frenchmen found the north and south Atlantic states somewhat depleted from the migration of their population into the West, and in many cases they filled in the places in the East thus drained.*

But they also surged west seeking the golden opportunities there offered. So fast did they rush west that it was not entirely a rhetorical utterance of Edward Everett, Secretary of State, who said, in his speech on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that "in the West what is a wilderness to-day is a settled neighborhood to-

* As much as one-third or one-fourth of the native population of the older states had removed to other parts of the country. Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee were the chief sufferers, many from these states moving to Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Texas. In the ten years preceding 1860 fourteen of the Eastern states had given out more than they received, which loss was nearly compensated by the distribution among them of newly arriving immigrants.

morrow," for within a very short time fifty million acres of land had been brought under cultivation.

To the agricultural West the German peasant-immigrant in particular was drawn. This newcomer usually had some money, enough at least to establish himself on a farm; many even came loaded down with farm and household implements, most of which, however, proved to be useless in the New World. An idea of the part the Germans played in this early settlement of the West is indicated in the fact that of the forty-six thousand inhabitants in Cincinnati, twenty-eight per cent were from Germany; those from the British Isles, principally Irish, amounted to fourteen per cent. In nine months only, fifty thousand Germans arrived at New York, and most of these were sent west by the German Society. Thousands more landed at Montreal and made their way thence to Lewiston and Buffalo. Day after day the trains on the Buffalo and Niagara Railroad came in "stretched to the length of a monstrous serpent" and filled with German immigrants, who camped in the streets of Buffalo or found refuge in empty buildings till they could resume their westward journey. The Germans were chief among the foreigners whose never-ending stream transformed the West almost within a decade.

The Irish immigrant generally settled in the eastern cities or found employment on the

roads, canals, and railroads built in the thirties. Later he sought employment of the same sort in the western states and went there in such numbers that by 1850 there were fifty-three thousand scattered over Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.*

The decade ending in 1860 not only showed a continuance of large German, Irish, English, Welsh, and Scotch immigration, but also the beginning of that stream of population from the Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden and Norway, which later was to grow into such large proportions and which also, for the greater part, settled on farms in the Northwest.

An important feature of this peopling of the western states at the time large numbers of the older immigrant nationalities were coming to the United States is the record of government land sales. These sales indicate the passing of great areas of the public domain into the hands of hundreds of thousands of natives and immigrants. The low price of these lands—an acre open to private sale could be had for as little as a dollar and a quarter—acted upon the newly arriving immigrants—the land-disinherited of Europe—as the magnet upon the iron, drawing them irresistibly westward across mountain and river barriers into one of the richest interior gardens of the world. The

*McMaster: "History of the People of the United States," Vol. VII, page 220.

land-hungry were being fed. It is not surprising that the immigrants crowding to our shores were caught up in the excitement and drawn along with the current.

And yet, in spite of the rush westward, there was still plenty of land left, so enormous was the supply. For instance, in the fifties some fear was expressed that the government land would soon be exhausted, so fast was it being disposed of to settlers. This led prospective immigrants to inquire of the United States Land Office Commissioner, "Is there much Government land throughout the country yet for sale at the original price of a dollar and a quarter an acre?" The answer was: "There are fourteen hundred millions of acres of unsold land in the country 'rich in agricultural capacity, or mineral treasures.'" That part of the country not yet formed into states, would, according to the same report, make forty-six states the size of Pennsylvania, each containing twenty-eight millions of acres. Nebraska, for instance, comprising what later became the states of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, a part of Colorado, and Wyoming, contained four hundred and eighty-five thousand square miles—a territory more than ten times as large as New York and larger by thirty-three thousand square miles than all the free states then in the Union east of the Rocky Mountains. This magnificent domain contained less than one hundred thousand white inhabitants.

Thus with the free and open and almost limitless West to be settled, hundreds of thousands of the earlier immigrants to the United States poured with the streams of native population into the western states. They could not go south to raise tobacco on the banks of the Rappahannock or the Potomac or the James rivers, nor rice in the swamps of the Carolinas, nor pitch, indigo, and tar in Georgia for, as has been said, the southern states were virtually already settled communities, with their slave labour. But they could go west and with little or no capital soon begin raising corn and wheat and oats. They could do this, too, without fear of future slavery, because the Ordinance of 1787 prohibited it for all time in what was then known as the Northwest Territory—that section of the country beyond the Ohio River now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. Not only was slavery forbidden, but also involuntary servitude except in punishment for crime. Besides these inestimable advantages as compared with the southern states, the settlers in the Northwest Territory were guaranteed a long list of personal liberties. Most important of all, however, this territory, ceded to the United States by the several states, comprised an area of more than one hundred and ninety-nine million acres of public land, nearly all of which was to be disposed of to settlers for virtually nothing. Its settlement

was made much more rapid through the construction of railway lines.

Only one railroad had been completed between tidewater and the great interior plains before 1850. In that year was opened the second road to the West, connecting the lakes and rivers there with the Atlantic Ocean. In April of the following year the third rail route to the West—the New York and Erie—began business. In 1852 the Pennsylvania, and a year later the Baltimore and Ohio, were opened.

The ten years before 1860 mark an epoch in the history of railway construction in the United States. Railroads were being built everywhere, particularly in the West. "The extension of the system," says the historian, James Ford Rhodes, in his "History of the United States," * "was bringing the rich grain fields of the prairies into easy communication with the seaboard; and as the iron rails were laid westward the comforts and luxuries of civilisation were brought within the reach of the pioneers."

Within the decade railroads were constructed radiating from Lakes Erie and Michigan, striking the Mississippi River at ten and the Ohio at eight different points, and intersected by cross lines, which, in the states east of the Mississippi, soon increased in numbers to meet the ever growing public and private want to which the settling of the country and the develop-

* Vol. I, page 416.

ing of its resources gave rise. So important a part had the steam railroad come to play in taking settlers into the West and in transporting their products to the markets in the East that what amounted to a craze for railway building took possession of the people and of the state and federal governments. Enterprises were undertaken and so speedily executed as literally to convert these western states carved out of the public domain into a network of transportation lines, which gave to the population pouring west easy access to all sections of that vast region.

This rapid progress in railway construction within this decade is indicated in the fact that in 1850 the total mileage in operation in the country was about eight thousand five hundred miles; ten years later it amounted to more than thirty thousand five hundred, an increase of more than twenty-two thousand miles.* The importance of this railway development in the decade preceding 1860 in connection with the settlement of the West is clearly emphasised when we consider the distribution of this new mileage according to the different sections. The largest increase—an increase amounting to nearly ten thousand miles—was in the northwestern interior states. These latter had only

* Nearly twenty-one thousand miles of railway were constructed from 1849 to 1858. This was seven-ninths of the total mileage of the country. In nine years seven hundred million dollars had been invested in railway construction. Rhodes, Vol. III, page 53.

1,276 miles of railroad in 1850; ten years later their total was 11,212 miles.

The famous Homestead bill was another influential factor affecting the distribution of the earlier immigration. This was an act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain. The bill was approved May 20, 1862, and went into effect January 1, two years later. The gift substantially by the government of one hundred and sixty acres of land on condition of settlement and cultivation, not only induced a large migration from the eastern states, but also drew large numbers of immigrants from Europe and the Atlantic Coast states, as the privileges conferred applied equally to those who declared their intention of becoming citizens.

Encouragement to immigration was also given by President Lincoln's message of December 1863. "Although this source of national wealth and strength is again flowing with greater freedom than for several years before the insurrection occurred," he said, "there is still a great deficiency of labourers in every field of industry, especially in agriculture, and in our mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals. While the demand for labour is thus increased here, tens of thousands of persons, destitute of remunerative occupations, are thronging our foreign consulates, and offering to emigrate to the United States if essential but very cheap assistance can be af-

forded them." Thus encouraged, and with the return of prosperity, we find that, as Secretary of State Seward wrote in May 1864, "the flood of immigration is on the increase."

One result of all this was to give to the twelve north central states—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas —a larger foreign-born population in 1880 than was to be found in any of the other geographical divisions. It exceeded by one hundred thousand the total foreign born in all the older settled north Atlantic states, including those of New England and also New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, which last two named states contained a larger alien population than any other two states in the entire country. The twelve north central states had forty-four per cent of the total foreign-born population of the entire United States in 1880. Their number had increased in thirty years more than two million two hundred and seventy-five thousand —to more than two million nine hundred thousand in 1880 from only six hundred and forty-one thousand in 1850. No other section of the country had experienced within such a short time as tremendous a growth in this element of population. It was fairly evenly divided too throughout that great section, thus indicating that it was more of an agricultural than a manufacturing or industrial population.

To show more clearly the importance of this

distribution in the north central states of the larger proportion of the earlier immigration, we compare in the following table their growth with that of the north Atlantic and the southern states. This table gives for each of the three divisions its total foreign-born population by decades from 1850 to 1880, both inclusive.

	1850	1860	1870	1880
Total Foreign Born..	2,245,000	4,188,000	5,567,000	6,680,000
North Atlantic States.	1,304,000	2,022,000	2,521,000	2,815,000
North Central States..	641,000	1,544,000	2,333,000	2,917,000
Southern States.....	220,000	346,000	333,000	324,000

It should be clear that the two geographical divisions into which the foreign-born population most largely distributed itself are the North Atlantic and the North Central. In these twenty-one states was to be found about eighty-seven per cent of the total.

Before 1880 the North Atlantic was the most important of the two divisions, containing at each decade the largest number of immigrants. But by 1880 the North Central had risen to first place, having about one hundred thousand more. This growing importance of the North Central is all the more significant when it is realised what a handicap it had to overcome in the preceding decades in order to attain to this position of dominance. For in 1850 the North Atlantic had 663,000 more foreign born than the North Central.

Expressing this movement in another way,

the North Atlantic in 1850 had fifty-nine per cent of the total foreign born, and in 1880 forty-two per cent. The proportion of the North Central to the total foreign born in 1850 was only twenty-nine per cent, but by 1880 had risen to as much as forty-four per cent.

This increasing importance of the North Central division is more clearly shown if we consider the distribution of the foreign born for the period according to the decennial increases instead of their totals. Into the two divisions went more than four-fifths of all the increase.

The total increase, as well as the increases in each division, are compared in the following table:

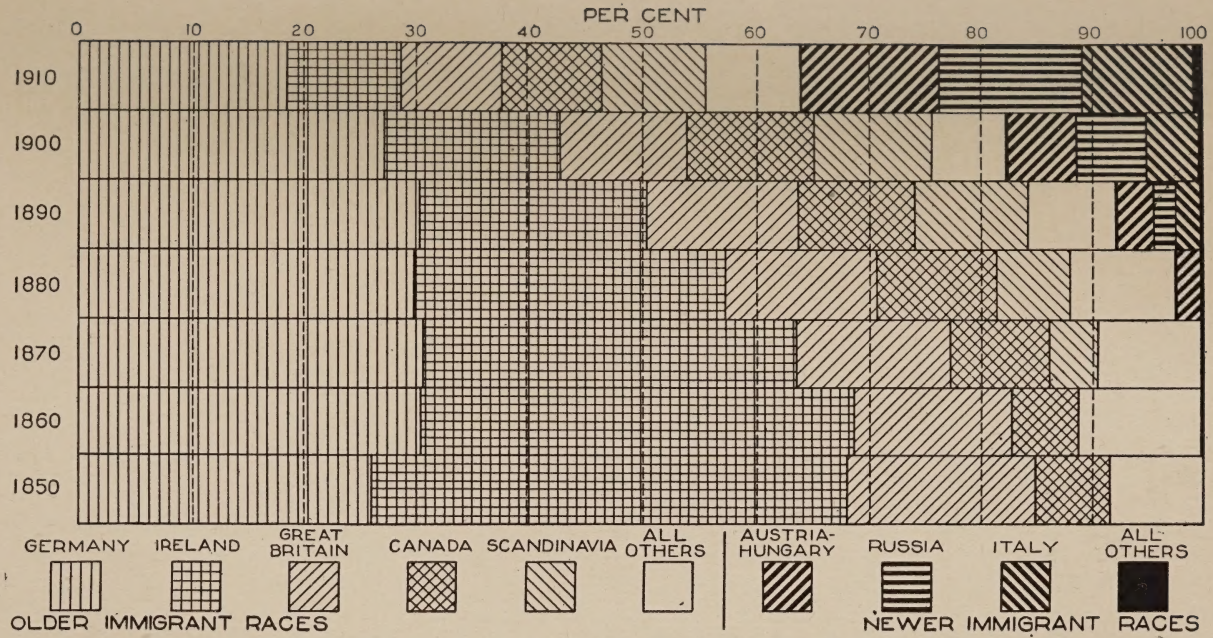
	1850–1860	1860–1870	1870–1880
Total Increase.....	1,943,000	1,379,000	1,113,000
North Central States.....	904,000	789,000	584,000
North Atlantic States	718,000	498,000	294,000

The important point in all these statistics is that they show the immigrants to the United States prior to 1880 to have settled in largest numbers in the north central states. The growth in their foreign-born population from 1850 to 1880, their proportion of the total, and its relation to that of other sections, are all clearly indicated by the charts facing page 124.

These immigrants, it must not be forgotten, were for the greater part of the older nationalities—the Germans, the Irish, English,

COMPOSITION OF OUR FOREIGN BORN BY DECADES

The proportions of our total foreign born at each census since 1850 as well as the volume from each country compared with that from other countries, are illustrated in this diagram. For instance, Ireland's contribution in 1850 was not only more than two-fifths of the total, but it was also considerably greater than that from any other country. The diagram also shows the changes that have come about during each decade in the proportion of the foreign born from any particular country compared with the other decades and other countries. Ireland, for instance, had a less proportion of the total in 1860 than in 1850; Germany a greater proportion. By 1880 Germany had a larger proportion of the total than had Ireland. While the proportion of the newer immigrant races more than doubled the past ten years —to about thirty-seven per cent. of the total—those here from those countries in 1850 formed such an insignificant element as not to be represented on the diagram; in 1860 and 1870 it was still so small as barely to be discernible. In other words, virtually all the foreign born down to 1880 were from the older immigrant countries.



COMPOSITION OF OUR FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION AT EACH DECADE SINCE 1850

Scotch, Welsh, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Swiss. Ireland and Germany alone contributed seventy per cent, or 1,545,000 of the total foreign born of 2,245,000, in 1850; thirty years later the proportion of these two countries to the total was fifty-seven per cent. Of all the foreign born in the north central states in 1880 the four countries of Germany, Ireland, Canada, and England contributed more than seventy-three per cent. Of the 2,917,000, as many as 1,109,000, or thirty-eight per cent, came from Germany alone.

This distribution in that section of the older immigrant races was determined at the time of their arrival by the economic influences affecting the settlement of the northwestern interior states. This is important to bear in mind as it explains not only the geographical location of the earlier arrivals but also the migration there of the later Teutonic immigrants, who went where their predecessors settled and established communities.

The remarkable story of this westward march prior to the eighties of our older foreign-born population, and its consequences to us as a nation, cannot yet be told with proper emphasis upon its economic, racial, social, and political phases for the simple reason that we are still too close to it to secure a correct perspective. We are prone to forget that within the memory of men now living the interior West was taken from the Indian, cleared of its for-

ests, and only now is being subjected to supplying the wants and needs of modern civilisation. There the native American and the European immigrant had a common task, they became neighbors and friends, intermarriage was made easy, and the Teutonic and Celtic races, which in Europe had for centuries been developing separately and apart, were welded or fused racially as one people. Not only was the environment such as to amalgamate them physically but also to assimilate them politically and socially.

Not yet is this people of the great interior West ready to enter upon the stage to play its part. At the same time no one thing is more certain in the future of the United States than that along the banks of the great Father of Waters and its tributaries are to-day in the making the people destined to determine the American civilisation of the coming centuries. It is there among the native descendants of mixed Teutonic stock—the product of the crucible—that is to be fought out America's place in the progress of the human race. The historian of the future, coming to weigh in the balance of impartial judgment the evidence of centuries instead of decades, will find among the great facts contributing to the making of America this settlement of the West by the English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Norwegian, Dane, Swede, Swiss, Hollander, and Canadian. They settled there under conditions favourable

to their amalgamation into one race within almost a single generation.

This settling of the Northwest—this great movement of population out of Europe whose course was toward the setting sun beyond the sky-line of the western prairies—has for the historian a theme worthy his best effort. Nor is it without an abundance of material for the great dramatist of the future who is to interpret and make audible the longings and struggles of the races of mankind in their peopling of the New World with a new race, and in their travail to give birth and perpetuate a government of, for, and by the people. Even the period of its preparation for the reception of the Teutonic immigrants—those anxious and stirring days when the path of the pioneer crossed the trail of the Indian, and the axe and plough of the white settler replaced the tomahawk and bow of the red man—even those days contain the elements of a great epic. For they, too, concern themselves with fundamental human forces out of which alone a new epoch emerges.

CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION AND THE SOUTH

THE great and unparalleled exodus of populations from Europe and their peopling of the United States—this remarkable outpouring of millions of people from all parts of Europe which is designated as immigration—marks a great historical event and is pregnant with meaning to more than one country and nation. The movement, like the ebb and flow of the tide, came at intervals, now and then receding only to renew its volume later on. The recurring waves broke and dispersed upon our eastern shore, crested the mountain barriers, poured into the newer agricultural states west of the Alleghenies, found their way to the Mississippi and across that river to the Great Plains, and even trickled as far as the Pacific Ocean.

Some of the positive economic forces that operated prior to 1880 to distribute the older immigrant races in particular throughout the north central states have been emphasised. We have yet to understand what might be called the negative forces which also had an influence in bringing about this distribution. Among them were those which prevented the immigrant from going into that large section of the country south of the Ohio and east of the Mississ-

ippi rivers, designated generally as the South.

The fact that at the time of the coming of the great waves of Teutonic and Celtic immigration the Atlantic South was already comparatively settled while the great West was just being opened, is one explanation why this southern section was passed by. Still, it is not a complete explanation, for the same is true of the north Atlantic states—they, too, were even more thickly settled and yet, in spite of this, many of the immigrants from Germany, Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, and France located there. Why did the South fail to receive at least a fair share of this immigration? Let us first see what numbers and what proportion of the whole the South actually did receive.

In all the thirty years prior to 1880, when the north Atlantic states were more than doubling their foreign born and the north central increasing theirs by nearly two million three hundred thousand, the southern states could show a gain of only a little more than one hundred thousand. That section had an actual decrease in the number of its foreign born in the decade preceding 1870. Out of a total of six million six hundred and eighty thousand in the entire country, the fourteen southern states in 1880 had only about three hundred and twenty thousand. Compared to the two million nine hundred thousand of the north central and the two million eight hundred thousand of the

north Atlantic states, this immigrant population of the southern states appears insignificant. In 1880 it was not quite five per cent of the total foreign born in the entire country, having decreased from ten per cent in 1850.

In the distribution of the foreign-born population of the United States in 1850 the south Atlantic section ranked fourth among the nine geographical divisions. In 1900 it ranked eighth, only one other section, and that the eastern south central, ranking lower.

The decennial distribution of the foreign born by states shows a situation where the increases in the South have been very slight. There are instances of actual decreases, which tendency prior to 1900 is presented in no other section of the country excepting the western south central division. In the case of Virginia the larger part of the decrease is explained by the separation of western Virginia and its creation into a new state. But in the case of South Carolina the number of foreign born in 1880 was only 7,686 while thirty years before it was 8,662. This tendency has been true at one time or another of every one of the states now included in the south Atlantic division, with the exception of West Virginia and Florida, and one other if we include the District of Columbia. Delaware, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and Georgia each showed an actual decrease in its foreign born in 1870 compared with 1860. The

fact that during this decade the great Civil War was fought is sufficient explanation. But there have been decreases in succeeding decades. Maryland, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia had each a less number in 1880 than in 1870. The two Carolinas, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Mississippi had each a less number in 1890 than ten years before; Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and South Carolina had each fewer foreign born in 1900 than at the close of the preceding decade.

Some conception of the insignificant part the South has played in the distribution of our total foreign born, as well as its share in comparison with the other sections of the country, can be had from a glance at the charts facing page 124.

The primary cause of this striking neglect of the South by our foreign-born population is to be sought and found in the existence there of the institution of slavery. Around this system of owned and enforced labour, which was peculiar alone to the South at the time when the earlier immigrants from Europe were arriving in such large numbers, revolve all the economic forces that operated in the southern states to prevent the alien from settling there. With every acre of land close to the seaport already portioned out into plantations, by which system large areas were held and inherited by great landed proprietors, the South

offered least inducement to the great mass of immigrants, with their hunger for land.

But even more powerful in repelling the immigrant was the existence in the South of negro slave labour.* Society there had already become stratified, with a modified but rigid caste system based on slavery and with virtually no place for the newcomer who was dependent upon his own efforts and resources and who would not be bound by the chains of slavery. In the case of the free but dependent class of society, "whose province it was to follow the plough, to tend the cattle, and to toil in the swamps," we have the word of the historian McMaster † that it was with extreme difficulty that they eked out a miserable existence. This condition was such that it early influenced migration among this class from Georgia and the two Carolinas to the states along the Ohio River.‡

* This system had given to the South by 1860 a total of four million negroes. The total white population of that section was only eight million. In the northern states the whites numbered nineteen million and the coloured less than two hundred and fifty thousand.

† McMaster: "History of the People of the United States," Vol. I, page 70.

‡ This migration west from the southern and northern states prior to the war is commented upon in the census volume for 1890: "In the North Atlantic division this draft has been made good in great part, especially during the past forty years, by foreign immigration, which has thus replaced to a great extent the original stock. Such is not the case, however, with the South Atlantic States, which, owing in part to climatic conditions and in part to the presence of the negro race, have received insignificant foreign immigration."

"The South had special interests based upon her peculiar system of labour," says another historian, James Ford Rhodes. "The North was growing much faster than the South, and the large immigration from Europe, just beginning, was being directed entirely to the free states. The South attracted none of this, for the reason that freemen would not work with slaves." * Commenting upon Calhoun's speech in the Senate March 4, 1850, on the compromise resolutions on slavery, Rhodes says: "It was the old story that the North had grown faster in population than the South. Every one knows that it was slavery which kept back the South in the race; but this Calhoun could not see."

Referring to an amendment to the Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the Missouri Compromise which provided that only citizens should have the right of suffrage and of holding office in the territories, Rhodes says: "This was intended to work against emigrants from Europe who might settle there. This amendment was only carried by a vote of twenty-two to twenty; and it is noticeable, as indicating the feeling towards the foreign population, that all the senators but one who favoured this amendment were from the slave states, and all who opposed it were from the free states." †

Rhodes states further: "It needed no ex-

* Rhodes: "History of the United States," Vol. I, page 44.
† Vol. I, page 476.

tensive marshalling of statistics to prove that the welfare of the North was greater than that of the South. Two simple facts, everywhere admitted, were of so far-reaching moment that they amounted to irrefragable demonstrations. The emigration from the slave states to the free states was much larger than the movement in the other direction; and the South repelled the industrious emigrants who came from Europe, while the North attracted them. 'Leave us in the peaceable possession of our slaves,' cried Parson Brownlow, 'and our northern neighbours may have all the paupers and convicts that pour in upon us from European prisons.' This remark found general sympathy, because the South ignored, or wished to ignore, the fact that able-bodied men with intelligence enough to wish to better their condition are the most costly and valuable products in the world, and that nothing can more redound to the advantage of a new country than to get men without having been at the cost of rearing them. This was occasionally appreciated at the South, and sometimes the greater growth in wealth and population * of the North would break in upon the mind of Southern thinkers with such force that they could not hold their peace. Sometimes the

* The number of whites in the slave-holding states in 1790 was about 1,271,000; in 1850 they numbered 6,222,000. For the non-slave-holding states the whites in 1790 numbered 1,901,000, and in 1850, 13,331,000.

truth would be owned, but its dissemination was prevented for fear that the admission of it would furnish arguments to the abolitionists." *

From the census of 1860 it appears that the fifteen slave-holding states contained a little more than twelve million inhabitants, of whom eight million were whites, nearly four million slaves, and about two hundred and fifty free coloured persons. The actual gain of the whole population in these states for the ten years preceding 1860 was a little more than two million five hundred thousand, equal to about twenty-seven per cent. The slaves had increased in number seven hundred and forty-nine thousand, or twenty-three per cent.

The nineteen free states and seven territories, including the District of Columbia, in 1860 contained more than nineteen million inhabitants, of whom eighteen million nine hundred thousand were white, two hundred and thirty-seven thousand free coloured, and forty-one thousand civilised Indians. The increase was more than five million six hundred thousand, or forty-one per cent.

As to the proportion of the foreign born in the two sections we have fairly accurate information in the census of 1860. This shows that eighty-six per cent were in the free states and only eight per cent in the southern or slave-holding states. That is, for every one

* Vol. I, page 355.

foreign-born person in the South, there were eleven in the North. In other words, of the total immigrant population of four million one hundred and thirty-nine thousand, only three hundred and forty-six thousand were to be found in that vast section south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi rivers.

Of the total increase of one million nine hundred and thirty thousand in our foreign-born population for the ten years before 1860, the South received only one hundred and twenty-six thousand, or six per cent.

At the opening of the war we find the largest number of foreign born in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts. They resided in least numbers in North and South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Delaware, and in several of the newer western states.

The cause of this avoidance of the South by the immigrant is reflected in the numerous letters, guides, and like immigration literature to which reference has already been made in the chapters treating of the causes of immigration and the distribution of the older nationalities. The personal letters to relatives and friends in particular had considerable influence. In some cases, in southern Norway for instance, these were transcribed by the scores of copies and sent from house to house and from parish to parish and read by hundreds still in Europe who were anxious to better their for-

tunes. In other cases whole villages would assemble to hear read the letter from some former resident of the place who was in the United States. And most of them painted usually a dark picture of the conditions in the South and urged their fellow countrymen to stay away from that section. In virtually all of the miscellaneous literature on immigration published prior to 1863 attention was called to the poor prospects in the South for the immigrant as contrasted with those in the North and West, and always to the disadvantage of the South.

In "Hints to Irishmen who Intend with their Families to make a Permanent Residence in America," published in 1817, we read: "Farther to the south, where negro slaves are the only or principal labourers, some white men think it disreputable to follow the plough. Far be it from us to cast censure on our Southern neighbours; yet in choosing a settlement we would have emigrants take slavery, with all other circumstances, into their consideration."

Another immigrant traveller draws this picture: "The wealthy farmers employ a great number of slaves, whose wretched situation forms a striking contrast with the splendour and opulence of their masters. There are three or four hundred of these unfortunate beings sometimes found in the possession of one individual planter, for whom they are doomed to labour early and late without any recompense

than what commonly falls to the ox or draught horse. They are frequently tasked in their labour, and allowanced in their rations; and what renders their condition still more wretched, is their exposure to every species of abuse, without the hope of redress. The flagellations and tortures inflicted for trivial offences are such as make humanity shudder." *

In "The Story of an Emigrant," related by a Swedish immigrant to the United States in 1851, we read: "At the wharf of Charleston, I was, for the first time in my life, brought face to face with American negro slavery in its most odious aspect. Crowds of negroes were running along the pier pulling long ropes, by means of which the ships were loaded and unloaded. Each gang of negroes was under the charge of a brutal overseer, riding on a mule, and brandishing a long cowhide whip, which he applied vigorously to the backs of the half-naked negroes. During the night they were kept penned up in sheds, which had been erected for that purpose near the wharf. They were treated like cattle, in every respect."

Such intimate personal accounts of conditions in the South, even though they might not be general, nevertheless were believed by and had an effect upon the immigrant and influenced his destination. It was quite generally believed by the German immigrant, for instance, that

* The Emigrant's Guide or Pocket Geography of the Western States and Territories.

the slaveholders of the South would reduce the immigrants themselves to slavery.

In his "Emigration Fields," published in 1839, Patrick Matthew contrasted the southern with the northern section, and advised the immigrant to settle elsewhere than in the South "partly because of the hateful slave system, throwing a shade of degradation and meanness over the occupation of the workingman." Sidney Smith in "The Settlers' New Home," published in 1850, says of the "southern or slave states" that "a circumstance of their inferior attractions is that few Europeans settle there," the institution of "slavery having decided many without reference to other considerations."

Briefly, from the point of view of the immigrant who had to work for his living, slavery put a stigma upon free labour and thus caused the free white man to lose his self-respect in performing work that was regarded as fit only for bondsmen of an inferior race, or criminals who were made to labour in the fields as punishment. It was this system of slave labour that kept the immigrant out of the South. It resulted in the wages of free white labour being much too low in comparison with those paid in the northern or western states, and in a standard of living among the plantation labourers even lower than the lowest of any country from which the immigrants came.

But of all the literature, the one influence of

this kind that kept immigrants out of the Southern States was Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Translated into every language of the countries giving to us immigrants in large numbers, it had been read in the humble cottage of the immigrant's European home at dusk after the day's work was over, and in cases they were as familiar with it as with the Bible. From this heart-gripping tale of the lowly they got their mental picture of conditions in the South, and from the South they turned away. They directed their steps toward the free and untrammelled West.

That the existence of slavery in the Southern States was the dominant cause preventing the older immigrant races from settling in that section in any considerable numbers there can be no question. At the time of their coming prior to 1860 it was the one great national issue. The Fugitive Slave Law, the Missouri Compromise, the Dred Scott Decision, the controversy over the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the "Bleeding Kansas" Issue, the Underground Railroad, the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, John Brown's Raid, and the scores and more like issues which revolved around slavery for the thirty and more years prior to the Civil War—all these were not without influence in affecting the distribution of the immigrant. Not a few of these immigrants were imbued with the longing for liberty and freedom; in fact, they were fleeing from European despotism and tyranny.

They came at a time when these great human principles were once again aligning themselves in the New World to battle for supremacy. They came when the issues embodying these great principles were in the fever heat of public discussion. Into the throes of the mighty conflict over slavery the immigrant-citizen of the Northwest was soon thrown. He took sides. It was the Kansas-Nebraska act that caused the Germans to become Republicans and that made the Northwest strongly Republican.

Professor Rhodes, in discussing this phase of public sentiment upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, says: "The foreign immigration has become a factor in politics of which heed must be taken. The Germans and Irish, for the most part, had joined the Democratic party; but the Germans, from the first, were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for they were against the extension of slavery. Of eighty-eight German newspapers, eight were in favour of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, while eighty were decidedly opposed to it. This change was of enough consequence to determine the political character of Wisconsin and Iowa, and was a great element of anti-slavery strength in Ohio." * Among these immigrants from Germany were not a few educated and liberty-loving men—exiles from the fatherland after the failure there of the Revolution of 1848.

*Rhodes: "History of the United States,"—Vol. I, page 495.

This geographical distribution of the foreign-born population prior to 1860 had another important political effect. Representation in the lower house of Congress being based on population, this large addition through immigration brought about significant changes in the number of Representatives from the different sections. These changes were striking, the inhabitants in the north Atlantic and northwestern states increasing much more rapidly, as we have seen, than in the Southern States. In 1800 the slave-holding states had one hundred and thirty-two members in Congress, nearly four times as many as the thirty-seven Representatives of the free states. Ten years before the opening of the Civil War the nine original free states had increased their membership in the lower house to eighty-seven, while the entire fifteen slave-holding states in 1863 had only eighty-five members out of a total of two hundred and forty-one.

By now the north central states held the balance of power. Ohio had nineteen Representatives, Illinois fourteen, Indiana eleven, Wisconsin six, and Iowa six, these five states, which had no Representatives in 1790, now having a total of fifty-six. And if we add the six from Michigan and the two from Minnesota, making all told sixty-four from the northwestern states, we see what a preponderance in voting strength that section into which the immigrants went in such large numbers gave

to the North when those great issues leading up to the Civil War were being debated and decided. The western states were increasing their representation in Congress at the expense of the northern and southern states, the South losing much more rapidly than the North.

Political power was thus rising upon the foundation of increasing population, and this through immigration had rapidly and steadily advanced into the Northwest. Districts unorganised and with scarcely a civilised inhabitant in 1790 were populous states in 1860, with a larger representation altogether than was had by all the states in the first Congress.

The effect of this increase in population upon the representation in Congress, through which the political power in the nation passed from the southern to the northern and northwestern states, can be illustrated in the case of particular states. Ohio was unrepresented in the first Congress, not being admitted as a state until 1802, but in 1863 she had nineteen Representatives. Indiana, admitted into the Union in 1816, had eleven Representatives in 1863, exactly the same as Virginia. Illinois, admitted into the Union in 1818, had fourteen Representatives in 1863. North Carolina had ten and Maryland eight Representatives in 1790; under the apportionment of 1863 North Carolina had seven and Maryland five.

The same tendency, although not quite so marked, is noticeable in a comparison of the

north central with the north Atlantic states. Massachusetts, for instance, dropped from fourteen in 1790 to ten in 1863; Connecticut from seven to four. Thus, naturally, the political power of all the older states declined relatively and those of the South absolutely, as the new West, with its large immigrant population, grew in numbers. Iowa, admitted into the Union in 1846, Michigan in 1847, and Wisconsin in 1848 had each six Representatives in 1863—two more than South Carolina, and only one less than Georgia or North Carolina. In recognising the importance of this tendency we must not forget that the ratio of representation in 1790 was one Representative to every thirty-three thousand of representative population, while in 1860 it was one Representative to every one hundred and thirty-seven thousand of population.

Thus is indicated briefly one very important aspect of the political settlement of the issues leading up to the Civil War to which the distribution of our immigrant population largely contributed. This distribution had also an important effect upon the settlement by arms of the civil struggle that followed. The immigrants, for the greater part, were males in the very prime of life. In the north Atlantic states these helped to fill up the places in the population which were depleted by the migration westward of the males among the natives and older immigrants. In the north central

states this immigration added to the already proportionately large male population.

This was not true of the South. From 1820 to 1860 most of these states were losing a considerable proportion of the increase in their population by its moving into the western states. Among these the males were in excess, leaving behind an excess of females, and unlike the northern states, the South did not receive compensation through the immigration of foreign-born males. Thus during the period of the settlement of the West prior to the Civil War most of the southern states—the Carolinas, Virginia, Alabama, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana, and Tennessee—had an excess of females as compared to males. In old and settled agricultural communities, such as the South, the sexes are usually about equal in number, with a tendency for the females to be slightly in excess of the males. Emigration entered there as a factor prior to 1860 to accentuate this excess of females.

In direct contrast with this was the general tendency in the North, and particularly in the Northwest. There the increase in the foreign born, the growth of manufactures, and the development of the mining industry, all more or less influenced by the large immigration from Europe, resulted in disturbing the normal relation of the sexes and in giving to those sections a larger number of males compared to females.

One cannot seriously contemplate this aspect of the distribution of the foreign born in the United States just prior to the opening of the civil struggle without being impressed with its tremendous importance in affecting the final outcome. Here were hundreds of thousands of males to be drawn upon by the North, which resource was denied the South. Is not this indicated in the fact that the enlistments in the Union armies reached nearly two million men, while the total number of enlistments in the Confederate armies did not exceed one million? Is it not reflected in the fact that the Federal Government had a larger male adult population to draw upon to make good its losses of five hundred thousand, while the Confederate Government could not replace its lesser loss of three hundred and fifty thousand men? Is it not also indicated in the fact that largely because of immigration there were men in the North during the war to keep its workshops busy in supplying material for the Union army, while in the South "the manufacture of iron and ordnance in the public armories and private establishments of the Confederacy was attended with difficulty and with discouragement largely owing to the lack of skilled workmen?"* And is it not a fact of significance as affecting the outcome of the struggle that hundreds and thousands of quarter sections of public land in the West, having previously but

* Rhodes, Vol. III, page 498.

little value, had been converted by immigration into productive farms and were being tilled by the immigrant, thus giving to the North another economic asset of tremendous importance? The sale of the products of these farms and the demand for agricultural implements and other manufactured articles aided materially in enabling the North to recover sooner from the terrible havoc of the war.

With those who believe that slavery in the Southern States was destroyed because it was morally wrong the writer has no cause for quarrel. But now that sectional prejudice and hatred have passed away it might be well to face certain economic facts which unquestionably had a very important bearing upon the outcome of that struggle.

It is not intended to say that the geographical distribution of the immigration to the United States prior to 1860 determined the outcome of the Civil War in favour of the North. To do so, however, might not be far from the actual facts. If the foreign born, instead of settling in the north Atlantic and north central states, had gone into the southern and southwestern states, one might be able to prophesy with considerable assurance that the South would have conquered. No one conversant with the economic factors in the great Civil War would deny for a moment that this distribution of the foreign-born population had a great influence in deciding the final outcome.

It should be clear, from what has been said, that the distribution of our foreign born has been determined by clearly defined economic forces. The fact that slavery existed in the Southern States goes a long way to explain why the foreign born to-day are not found to any considerable extent in that section of the country. The positive factors were the existence of vast areas of land in the unsettled West, not only virtually free but also with the guarantee of freedom, and the facility with which they could be reached. These two sets of forces were in operation about the same time; they distributed the older immigrant races more largely in the north central states.

Next was to come the marvellous industrial development of the country with a remarkably rapid growth in manufactures. The demands of agriculture had caught up the Teutonic immigration and distributed it on the farms. The needs of our manufactures were now to draw with equal strength upon the Slav and Italian, and force them into our mines, mills, and factories, and into the large industrial centres, conspicuously so in the north Atlantic states. This is to receive attention in greater detail in the next chapter. But before considering it other factors of minor importance affecting the distribution of our foreign born may here be briefly mentioned.

Access to the country from Europe is most easily through the north Atlantic ports. This

is because they are deep and favourable to navigation, the harbours being also large and well sheltered. Farther to the south the entrances are narrow and shelving, and are liable to be choked up by sand drifted in by storms, the streams nearly all having bars thus formed across their mouths. This greater ease of access through the northern ports accounts somewhat for the larger distribution of immigrants in the northern as contrasted with the southern states.

This is more important than might at first appear. It is so important that we are able to draw from it a law of immigration. This law is that immigration distributes itself along the line of least resistance over the most accessible section of the country to which it goes. This law, while modified somewhat in its operation by the existence of institutions and artificial restraints, nevertheless explains the present-day distribution of immigrants in the United States. We find that those in the north Atlantic states have settled nearest the ports of entry. By far the larger number of Canadians who have come to the United States inhabit the New England and the northern tier of middle western states nearest the Canadian border. The Japanese and Chinese are in the Pacific Coast states. The Mexicans who have come to us are found in largest numbers in those states adjoining the Mexican border. Many of the immigrants from Cuba and the West Indies are in Florida.

Climatic conditions have also been a factor in influencing the distribution of our foreign born. It is true that "men seldom change their climate, because to do so they must change their habits." In the United States the almost universal law of internal migration has been that it moves west along the same parallel of latitude. At the same time that this is true, it is not infrequently made inoperative because of the more powerful counter influences of the agricultural, the geographical, and the geological features of the country, and more particularly because of the social and political institutions of the people, as well as of transportation facilities.

In another way climatic conditions have also been influential. In the earlier days, before the progress of medical science, epidemics visited the low portions of the South, from Norfolk southward and extending around the Gulf of Mexico. These caused the mortality to rise. The yellow fever epidemic which spread throughout that section almost yearly, especially the very severe ones of 1847, 1853, and 1858, naturally drew attention to this condition affecting the health of the population and thus deterred immigration to that section. To-day this force affecting settlement in the South has virtually been eliminated.

CHAPTER VI

DISTRIBUTION—THE NEWER IMMIGRATION

Some of the reasons why the earlier immigration down to 1880 passed over the South and was distributed most largely throughout the agricultural northwest have been given. The distribution of the newer immigration—that arriving since 1880—presents a different situation.

Many economic cross currents enter in to disconcert us and to prevent our securing a clear view of this distribution. It is extremely easy to confuse cause and effect and a difficult matter to give proper emphasis to each of the economic factors. Among these factors were the unprecedented increase in our foreign-born population following 1880, the change in its racial composition, the very rapid growth of manufactures and industries, the startling increase in the population of our large cities as well as in the number of cities, and the relative decline in the influence of agricultural development as it affected immigration.

Was the large increase in immigration the cause or the effect of the rapid growth of industries and manufactures?

We can say that it was both cause and effect,

with greater emphasis upon the effect. It is undoubtedly true that the opportunity to secure an abundance of adaptable and cheap labour, which was presented by our unrestricted immigration policy, encouraged the increase of manufactures. At the same time much more powerful forces within the country, such for instance as the rapid growth of wants among our increasing native population, such also as our protective tariff policy, were operating to develop our industries. The increase and expansion of factories and mines and workshops, then, created the demand for labour, the immigrant across the Atlantic responding to the allurements of higher wages held out to him.

Was the change in the racial character of our immigrants from Europe due to this rapid growth of industries in the United States?

We believe that in part it was. This industrial development in the eighties and nineties moved forward by leaps and bounds; it was spurred on by the necessity of supplying an almost limitless home market which the growth of our agricultural interests was creating. Our earlier Teutonic immigrants for the most part had settled on the farm, or were already a fixture in established pursuits. It was difficult if not impossible for the manufacturing interests to draw them away from their moorings, or even to divert from the incoming stream of these older races a sufficient quantity to meet their demands. Besides, the

sources of supply of the older immigration had already been pretty well drained, so much so that radical action had been taken by the more important of those European countries to check if not stop the outward flow of their labour. New sources had to be tapped. This was done by the extension of the steamship lines to Mediterranean ports. There followed for the first time in large numbers immigration from Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. The immigrants from these countries did not have a status in the states already fixed by the very few of their own races who had preceded them, and in consequence it was comparatively easy to direct them into the new and growing industrial and manufacturing pursuits.

All the immigrants from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Scandinavia had not, of course, settled on farms. Nor is it to be assumed, because of the emphasis heretofore placed upon the settling of the northwestern states by the older immigrant nationalities, that many of them did not also find their way into the northeastern states. As the waves broke at the ports of entry on the Atlantic coast their contents, as has been seen, drifted throughout all the north Atlantic section. During all the time, down to 1880, immigration joined with the increase of the natives in adding to the density of population of this older section of the country. Many of them engaged in industrial and manufacturing activities.

These immigrants, there as elsewhere, had adapted themselves to the needs of the section into which they had gone.*

Whether too many of the natives and foreign born had crowded into farming in the preceding decades—whether there had been a too rapid development of our agricultural resources—may be left an open question. It is true, however, that at this period is noticeable a remarkable movement of population from the farms to the cities—it was almost as striking as the incoming immigration stream itself.

By now the first generation of the older immigrant farming class was coming on the scene, and these along with the newer immigrant the city drew away from the farm. No longer were such great agricultural opportunities open to the immigrant as had confronted him upon his arrival in the preceding decades. This of itself would have checked the flow of population to the farms. At the same time the country's remarkable industrial development was opening new opportunities to the immigrant labourers, conspicuous among

* In those states where the foreign element is large the particular causes are apparent. In the northeastern states the moving cause is manufactures of various kinds, and the mining of coal and iron. The immigrants are mainly Irish, German, and French Canadian, with some Welsh. In the northwest agriculture is the principal moving force, and Germans and Scandinavians are the principal nationalities drawn from; while in the extreme western states and territories most of the immigration is due to gold and silver mining, although agriculture and cattle raising also play a very important part.—Census, Population, 1880, page xli.

whom were now the Slav and Italian. Manufacturing, unlike agriculture, means a concentration of population, and this concentration of population means an increase in the number of large cities as well as in the growth of their populations. The factory must have transportation facilities for receiving its raw products and shipping its output and these can be supplied to a larger number at less cost in the cities; again, factory production requires the workers to live near their place of employment.

By 1890 more than one-half of our population was living in cities. This growth of cities meant an increase in urban population. This increase was gradual from 1790 to 1880, rising by slow degrees from 3.3 per cent to 22.6 per cent,* the increase in no decade exceeding four per cent. But for the ten years only from 1880 there was the marked increase from 22.6 per cent to 29.2 per cent, thus illustrating the accelerated tendency of population toward the cities. The number of cities having a population of eight thousand or more increased from six in 1870 to two hundred and eighty-six in 1880; during the succeeding ten years the number leaped to four hundred and forty-eight. In 1870 there were only fourteen cities having a population exceeding one hundred thousand; ten years later these numbered

* In 1790 only one-thirtieth of the population was in cities of more than eight thousand inhabitants; in 1880 nearly one-fourth of the population was urban.

twenty; in 1890 twenty-eight. In 1880 only one city, New York, had a population exceeding one million; ten years later there were three such cities—New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

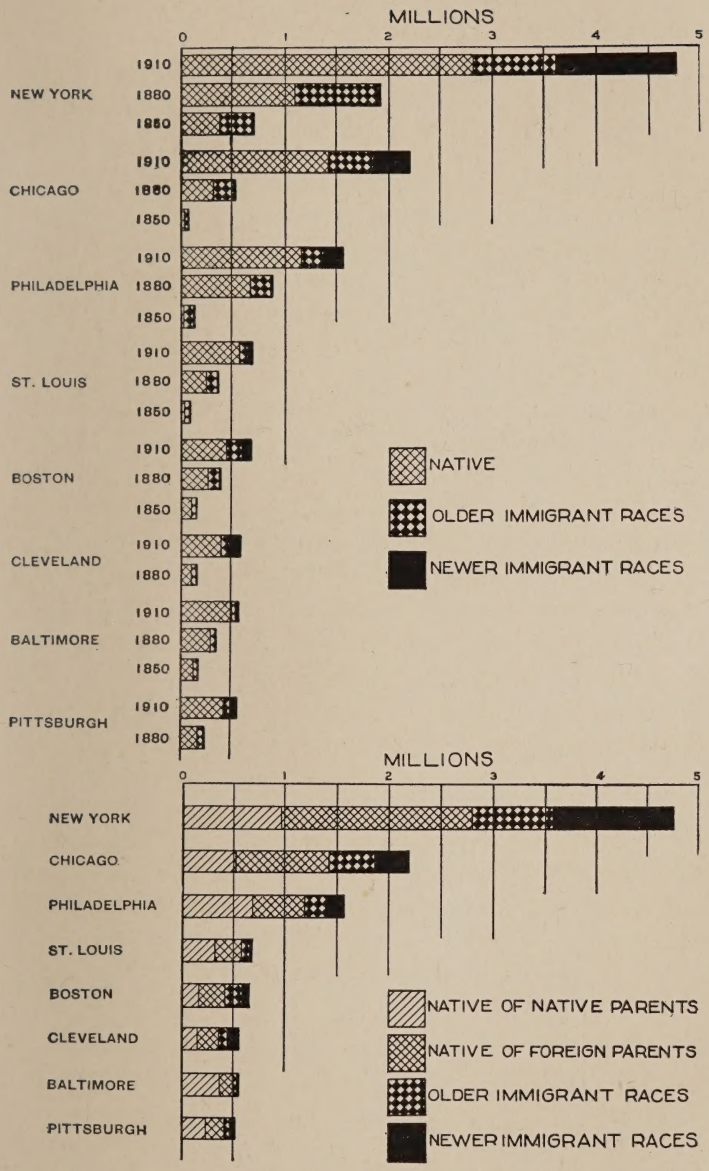
More than one-half, or nearly fifty-two per cent, of the entire population of the north Atlantic states was contained in cities of eight thousand inhabitants or more in 1890. During the preceding ten years the urban element in this division increased twenty per cent. In Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York the numerical increase in the urban population was greater than the increase of the total, so that in those states the rural population actually decreased. The explanation of this, of course, was the rapid extension of manufactures, industries, and commerce, which required the aggregation of inhabitants into compact communities.

During this time, What was taking place in the distribution of our foreign born?

Of all the states only six showed an increase in 1900 compared with 1890 of more than fifty thousand. In the four preceding decades the states having this distinction numbered fifteen, ten, eleven, and thirteen respectively. Those having the largest increases were New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Connecticut,—all industrial and manufacturing states; these six states contributing all but 152,000 of the total increase of

FOREIGN-BORN CITY POPULATION

The upper diagram illustrates the amazing growth in the population of our cities. Compare New York, for instance, in 1850 and in 1910—its population increased from 750,000 to 4,800,000. This growth in nearly all the cities has been caused predominantly by the increase in the foreign-born population and their children. Less than one million of the 4,800,000 population of New York City are natives of native parents, the remaining 3,800,000 being either foreign born or children of foreign born. The lower diagram shows the principal cities for 1910 only with the native population divided as between those having native parents and those with foreign parents. In the case of New York City, the latter are nearly twice as numerous as the former. As between the newer and older immigrant races, the tendency toward city concentration is more marked among the Slavs, Italians, and Hebrews. As a general statement a larger proportion of these settled in cities than of those from northwestern Europe. This does not necessarily indicate a racial characteristic peculiar to these newer immigrant races. On the contrary, the tendency is due not so much to any such differences as to the operation of different economic forces at the time of arrival.



FOREIGN POPULATION OF AMERICAN CITIES

1,092,000. During this decade an unusually large number of states showed actual decreases in their foreign born. These decreases were in many of the states into which heretofore there had been large increases of the older immigrant nationalities—such states as Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nevada, Indiana, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Michigan, Tennessee, and Ohio.

A bird's-eye view of the distribution of the foreign born in the United States brings out this tendency in the different sections of the country. The middle Atlantic division, comprising the three manufacturing states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, has always been the most important, no other geographical section having had at any time as many foreign born. It is true, it came very near losing this distinction in 1880 when the five eastern north central states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin lacked only 104,000 of as large a number. But since that period the foreign born in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have steadily and at times rapidly increased ahead of the eastern north central states.

This is shown in the fact that there was no decrease in any of the north Atlantic states in 1900 compared with 1890, while in the eastern north central states the only one that did not show a decrease for those ten years was Illinois. This decrease in four out of five of the eastern north central states was the first time in

the history of the census that Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin failed to show increases. Had it not been for the gain in Illinois, the entire eastern north central division would have contained less foreign born in 1900 than ten years before. Somewhat the same tendency was observable in the seven western north central states—Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas all showing decreases in 1900 compared with 1890, Missouri having also a less number than in 1870. That section was prevented from showing a loss because of gains in North Dakota and Minnesota.

At no time since we have had a record of the foreign born in the United States have the North Atlantic and North Central divisions contained less than eighty-four per cent of this element of our population. In 1850 the North Atlantic contained fifty-nine per cent and the North Central twenty-nine per cent. The former gradually decreased and the latter increased until 1880 when the proportion was about equal, with the advantage in favour of the North Central, it having not quite forty-four per cent and the North Atlantic forty-two per cent. This proportion was about the same in 1890 but ten years later the North Atlantic states again secured the lead with the proportion of forty-six per cent, the North Central states dropping to 40.6 per cent. In 1910 the North Atlantic division had nearly one-half of

all our foreign born and the North Central a little over one-third.

At the same time there was quite a considerable difference in the distribution of the foreign born within these two divisions, which reflects to an important degree a difference in the effects of immigration into the two sections. That in the North Atlantic division was concentrated in two or three of the nine states during practically the entire period. Taking 1900 as illustration, of the forty-six per cent of the total foreign born in this division, as much as thirty-six per cent was in the three states of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, leaving only ten per cent in the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey, and of these, three had each less than one per cent. New York alone had more than eighteen per cent.

In contrast with this the three more important north central states in 1900 had about nineteen per cent, just a little more than New York alone, the total proportion of the twelve states being forty per cent. Only one state, South Dakota, had less than one per cent, and all of them ranged between nine-tenths of one per cent and nine and three-tenths per cent. This contrast shows the greater concentration of the foreign born in the north Atlantic states, because there most of them engaged in manufacturing and mining industries, while in the

north central states they were distributed widely over a large agricultural section.

While the movement of the foreign-born population into the industrial states since 1880 has been shown to be as striking as it was previously into agricultural pursuits, it is not intended to give the impression that this change came about suddenly. On the contrary, it was relatively steady and slow. It was in this decade that what had previously been very rapid agricultural development showed a relative decline and was in marked contrast alongside the striking growth of manufactures.

The flood-tide of immigration following 1880 and 1890—the largest decennial inflows in the history of the country up to this time—sought then the manufacturing and industrial centres. In consequence the North Atlantic division regained its position of dominance over the North Central—it had, in 1910, as many as 1,986,000 more foreign born than the north central states.

This change is indicated in the following table, which gives the total foreign born of the two divisions and of the entire country at each decade from 1880 to 1910, both inclusive:

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Total Foreign Born..	6,680,000	9,250,000	10,341,000	13,516,000
North Atlantic States	2,815,000	3,888,000	4,763,000	6,676,000
North Central States	2,917,000	4,060,000	4,158,000	4,690,000

This movement in the two divisions becomes

conspicuous when considered from the point of view of increases. In 1900, for instance, the foreign born in the nine north Atlantic states increased seven hundred and seventy-seven thousand more than in the twelve north central states. The increase in the latter in 1880 was twice as large as in the former. In 1900, of the eighty-eight per cent increase in the foreign born in these two divisions, as much as eighty per cent was in the North Atlantic and only eight per cent in the North Central division.*

The same tendency is conspicuous in the distribution of the increase since 1900. The total increase for the entire country the past ten years exceeded three million. Of this, more than sixty per cent, or 1,913,000, was in the North Atlantic and but seventeen per cent, or 532,000, in the North Central division.

The distribution of our foreign born by decennial increases since 1880 is shown in the following table:

	1880–1890	1890–1900	1900–1910
Total Increase All Foreign..	2,570,000	1,091,000	3,175,000
North Atlantic States.....	1,073,000	875,000	1,913,000
North Central States	1,143,000	98,000	532,000

In 1880 the north central states were receiving more than one-half of the total increase in the foreign born and the North At-

* This proportion has been arrived at by taking the net increase, that is, the increase resulting after allowing for the decreases.

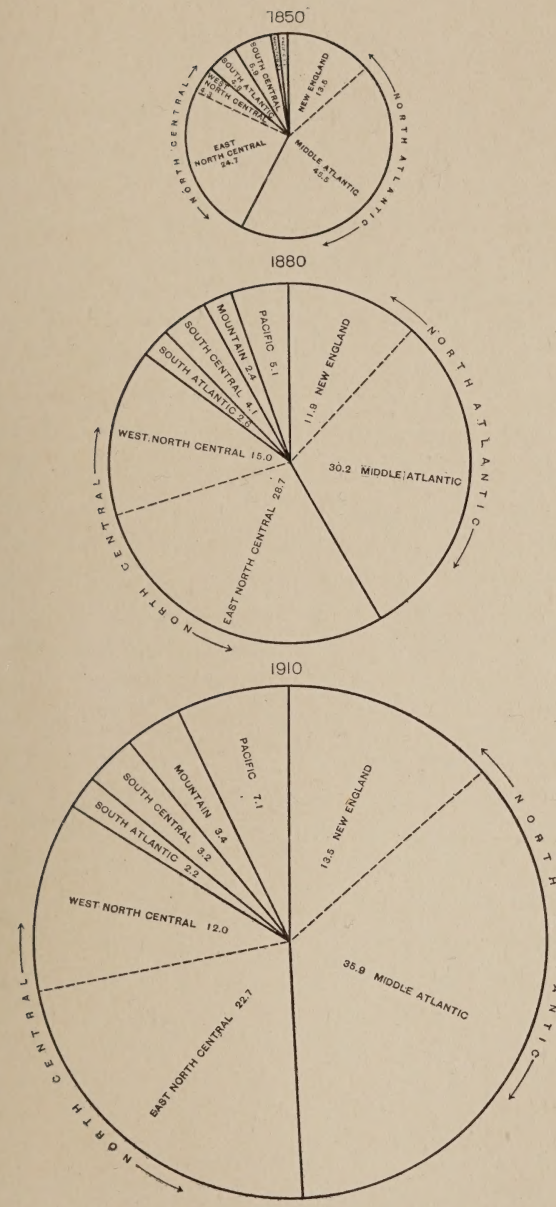
lantic division only one-fourth. It was within the next ten years that the great change came about in the racial composition of our immigration. Italy, Russia, Austria, and Hungary made up by far the greater part—more than ninety-six per cent—of the net gain to our foreign born during the ten years preceding 1900. Ireland, England, Scotland, France, and Wales showed actual decreases. By 1890 the proportion of the North Atlantic division to the total increase for the preceding ten years had risen from twenty-five to nearly forty-two per cent, while the proportion of the North Central had fallen to forty-four per cent. The three middle north Atlantic states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania increased their proportion of the total increase in the foreign born from about thirteen per cent for the decade ending in 1880 to more than forty-seven per cent ten years later. The five New England states increased their proportion of the total increase from nine per cent in 1860 to more than twenty-five per cent in 1900.

This distribution of the foreign born in the North Atlantic division is shown graphically in the charts opposite. By comparing its proportion with the total and with that of each of the other sections for 1850, 1880, and 1910, an idea can be gained of its greater importance.

It should be clear by now that prior to 1880 our marvellous agricultural development determined or controlled the direction of the

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN AT THREE DECADES

These three diagrams show the geographical distribution in the United States of the total foreign born at each census enumeration in 1850, 1880, and 1910; the relative increase during the sixty years, and also the changes in the proportion settling in the various sections of the country. The North Atlantic and North Central states have always contained more than five-sixths of all our foreign born. Note how from 1850 to 1880 the proportion of the North Central considerably increased and from 1880 to 1910 decreased in comparison with the North Atlantic section. This is explained in the fact that the older immigration following 1850 went largely into the agricultural Northwest while the recent or newer immigration is settling more largely in the industrial North Atlantic states. The small proportion of our foreign born that has gone into the Southern states is reflected in the percentages for the South Atlantic and South Central divisions. In 1850 all that section contained not quite eleven per cent.; in 1910 its proportion was less than six per cent. The increase the past thirty years is most noticeable in the New England and Middle Atlantic sections.



DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN BORN BY DIVISIONS, 1850, 1880, AND 1910

larger part of the immigration stream; since that year the equally remarkable industrial demands of the country have drawn the current into the mining and manufacturing states.

The same thing would likely have happened if the racial composition of the stream had been reversed in point of time. It is more than probable that if the Slavs and Italians had come to the United States in large numbers prior to 1880, instead of since that year, they would have settled in the north central agricultural states, as did the Germans and Norwegians and Danes and Swedes. One can be almost equally certain that if the so-called English-speaking races had migrated to the United States since 1880, instead of more largely before that year, they would now be found principally in the manufacturing and industrial centres of the North Atlantic division.

The immigrants themselves have not affected this economic development of the country in the sense that they have determined that it should be agricultural in the one period and manufacturing in the other. On the contrary, they have simply responded to the dominant economic forces at work within the country at the time of their arrival and which in themselves have determined the distribution of our foreign born. This explains much that is in dispute as to the differences in characteristics of the older and the newer immigrant races.

The earlier sources upon which the country

had depended for the labour to do its rough work had been virtually exhausted by our agricultural demands at the time of our rapid manufacturing and industrial development following 1880. With the possible exception of the negro labour in the Southern States, which might have been advantageously adapted to meet the new need, our industries had to depend for labour for the greater part upon a different group of European countries. If this labour could not have been secured the growth of our manufactures would have been less rapid and our industrial upbuilding would have been retarded or at least considerably checked. And yet—this might not have been a bad thing for the country and its people.

CHAPTER VII

SOME ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

THESE changes in the economic and geographical distribution of our immigration stream were more or less affected by a difference in the characteristics of the immigrants coming after 1880. This difference in traits made easy their entrance into our industries. This is true of the older as well as of the newer nationalities. Let us take for illustration the Scandinavians.

Not so large a proportion of our Scandinavian immigration was made up of farmers and agricultural labourers after 1880 as before that decade; the recent arrivals were more largely industrial workers and labourers skilled in trades of various kinds. Among the Scandinavians, this group was largely the Swedes, and this explains partly why these predominate over the Danes and Norwegians not only in the eastern cities but also in cities in every section of the country. They became not farmers but carpenters, painters, machinists, electricians, iron and steel workers, and so on, and in order to follow these occupations they had to reside in the cities. Even as to the Nor-

wegians, who most largely went West prior to 1880, a much larger proportion located in the New England and middle Atlantic manufacturing states after 1880 than before that time. For instance, this increase in the North Atlantic division in the decade preceding 1890 was four hundred per cent as compared with a little over two hundred per cent in the northwestern states. The reasons for their locating in the East, and especially in the cities of the East, after 1880, lie in the differences in economic characteristics. It still remains true, however, that the mass of our Scandinavian population is found in the agricultural Northwest.

Most of the Slavic and Italian immigrants that came prior to 1880 were influenced in their distribution by the same economic forces that located the earlier Scandinavians and Germans in farming districts. The Bohemian immigration, about the first that came to us from Austria, for illustration, was attracted largely by the offer of government free land, and being agricultural it settled in the West. The later Bohemian immigration, however, has come more from the industrial element, the farmer and farm labourer giving way to the tailor, the miner, the carpenter, joiner, shoemaker, locksmith, butcher, baker, and mason. Thus those coming from Austria after 1880, and particularly the Bohemians and Poles, differed in many respects from the Austrian immigration before that time.

Few of the Slavic nationalities now represented among our foreign-born population arrived before 1880. Beginning in that decade came the Croatians, Slovenians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Servians, Bulgarians, and Russians. They became not farmers but toilers in the mines, mills, and factories. This naturally resulted in a different geographical distribution for them than for the earlier Slavic arrivals, the latter having mostly gone West into the farming section while the former sought the industrial districts of the north Atlantic and eastern north central states. Of course, there were certain sections in the East, such as the Connecticut Valley, where the more recent Slavic immigrants have become farmers.

Back of the very significant difference in this distribution of the later Slavic and Italian as compared with the earlier Teutonic immigration lay the important economic characteristics.

The great majority of the immigrants entering at Ellis Island are classified under occupations as "farmers" or "farm labourers" or merely "labourers." These three groups formed more than eighty-one per cent of our total immigration in 1910. They were principally Slovaks, Poles, Croatians, Slovenians, Magyars, Ruthenians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, and Servians from Austria-Hungary; Russians, Poles, Finns, and Lithuanians from Russia; and southern Italians.

Referring to the "farmer" or "farm lab-

ourer" in Austria, Mr. Palmer, in "Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country," tells us that "in the Bauer household a multiplicity of trades is almost always carried on, and no farm labourer would be employed unless he had some knowledge of one or more of them. The leather for shoes and harness is tanned at home, and some of the farmers' men have to assist and work with the professional shoe and harness maker when he pays his periodical visits, thus learning a trade from him. In the same way a new trade is learned by those who work with the tailor and the weaver when they come round. They have not, it is true, acquired a technical knowledge of a *part* of a trade, such as would be demanded from them when working in a factory, where, for example, in the modern system, but very few men would be able to make the whole of a pair of boots, and they know nothing of machinery; but they have acquired a 'handiness,' and a capacity for appreciating work that is done well and conscientiously, that are of inestimable value when their labour is transferred to regular factories in town. The making of carts and wagons, buckets, casks, and many agricultural implements gives the young Austrian farm labourer an almost daily lesson in some new trade."

Similar statements, varying only in their details, are also true of the Russian "farmer" immigrant. In that country there is an interchange of town and country life presented

perhaps nowhere else. Upon the freeing of the serfs in 1861 virtually all the lower classes became landowners. The peasants quite often are found working in the towns, and even the Russian workmen of the towns are for the greater part peasants or "farmers" during the summer half of the year. "Each has his peasant holding, perhaps in some distant locality, which the law will not permit him to sell or to be deprived of; and when work is slack he goes back to his little farm and his family in his native village."

Referring to the peasants proper Mr. Palmer, in "Russian Life in Town and Country," says: "In the manufacturing districts their labour is as indispensable in the industrial world as it is in the agricultural regions. The very same men who in the country formed an agricultural artel, and contracted for farming operations during the summer strada, will, a few weeks later, have formed an industrial artel, and will take up a manufacturing contract as artisans."

These Slavic peasants or so-called farm labourers, then, are also workers in textile industries of all kinds, tanners, cutlery, and metal work of almost every description, cabinet making, pottery, glass making, and other trades. As employés of large country estates they have also become blacksmiths, saddlers, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, barbers, watch and clock repairers, and the like. Almost every

peasant in Russia, for instance, is a skilful worker in wood; in particular, virtually all of them have efficient knowledge of house-building.

So it is of the Italian "farmer" or "farm labourer." In that country also we fail to find that clear distinction between the farmer or peasant and the workingman which exists in such countries as Great Britain and particularly in the United States. "In the first place, there are agricultural industries and cottage industries that make the Italian peasant in some sense an artisan," says Villari in "Italian Life in Town and Country." "Secondly, there are many important industries, such as mining and quarrying, in which the men employed almost all belong to the agricultural classes, and possess small farms of their own, or work during certain seasons as hired labourers. In the third place, many workingmen, even in the towns, have little fields or market gardens outside the walls, which they cultivate during off hours. The peasants often come into the towns during the winter to get employment to do odd jobs, while the regular town dwellers sometimes earn money in the country by helping during the harvest, or at other times when there is an extra demand for labour."

It is clear then that the words "farmer" or "farm labourer" and artisan, used in connection with immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy, give

an altogether false impression if they are understood as being identical in meaning with those classes in this country similarly designated. Unless we go back of the mere words and understand their real application, we are apt to be led far astray in our conclusions.

In general it is true that most of our immigrants since 1880 have been more largely industrial as distinguished from agricultural workers. The early immigration from Austria, for illustration, came principally from the central and southern parts of that country, where the means of communication are few and trade and commerce but little developed, and not from the densely populated industrial districts of the north and northwest. But in recent years the larger proportion has been from the north of Austria where the activities of the population are largely industrial, the banks of every stream throughout the whole mountainous region being dotted with manufacturing establishments. Workmen from these factories, skilled in their trades, now form the bulk of the emigration.* The same distinction can also be drawn as to the earlier compared with the later immigration from Hungary, Russia, Italy, and so on.

Slavic immigrants to the United States from Austria-Hungary include Poles, Slovaks, Bohemians, Moravians, Ruthenians, Croatians,

* Special Consular Reports, Department of Commerce and Labour, Vol. XXX, 1904.

Slovenians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins, and Russians. The Dual Kingdom also sends us Magyars, Germans, Hebrews, Roumanians, and Italians, none of which, of course, are Slavs. From Russia the Slavic immigrants are most largely Poles, and next in importance Russians proper. Russia also sends us the non-Slavic Hebrew, Lithuanian, Finn, and German.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalisation in the Department of Commerce and Labour of the United States government keeps a record of immigration classified according to thirty-nine distinct groups of "races or peoples," eight of which are Slavs. In the order of numerical importance as immigrants in 1910 these groups are (1) Polish, (2) Croatian and Slovenian, (3) Slovak, (4) Ruthenian or Russniak, (5) Russian, (6) Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin, (7) Bohemian and Moravian, (8) Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.*

If we rank them according to their respective contributions during the past decade, their order of importance is changed somewhat. The group giving the largest representation in that period is the Poles from Russia, Austria, and

* The most important of the Slavs, according to their numerical strength in Europe, are the Russians, numbering nearly seventy million, next the Poles, comprising about eleven million, then the Bohemians and Slovaks together having about seven million, the Servians and Croatians six million, Bulgarians three million, and Slovenes amounting to one million three hundred thousand.

Germany, more than eight hundred and seventy thousand arriving in the ten years preceding 1911.* The Slovaks from Hungary † hold second place, the number immigrating in the ten years exceeding three hundred and thirty thousand. Third are the Croatians and Slovenians, with a decennial immigration of about three hundred and ten thousand. Fourth place is held by the Ruthenians, their contribution during the decade exceeding one hundred and forty thousand. Then come the Bulgarians, Servians, and Montenegrins with nearly one hundred thousand; the Bohemians and Moravians with ninety-five thousand; the Russians proper with eighty thousand; and the Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians with thirty thousand.

The mode of life and the nature of the economic characteristics which these more recent immigrants bring with them are indicated in that of the Slovaks, one of the Slavic groups from Hungary. These are described by Consul Sterne.‡

* In 1910 there were 938,000 persons in the United States reporting Polish as their mother tongue who were born in Russia, Austria, and Germany, Poland being no longer enumerated separately as a country of birth by the Federal Census. The largest number of "Poles" here have come from Russia, 418,000; the second largest from Austria, 330,000; and from Germany 190,000.

† Not quite one-half—forty-six per cent—of our total foreign born from Hungary in 1910 reported Magyar as their mother tongue, more than one-fifth—nearly twenty-two per cent—Slovak, and about fifteen per cent German.

‡ Consular Reports on Emigration and Immigration, House Executive Document No. 157.

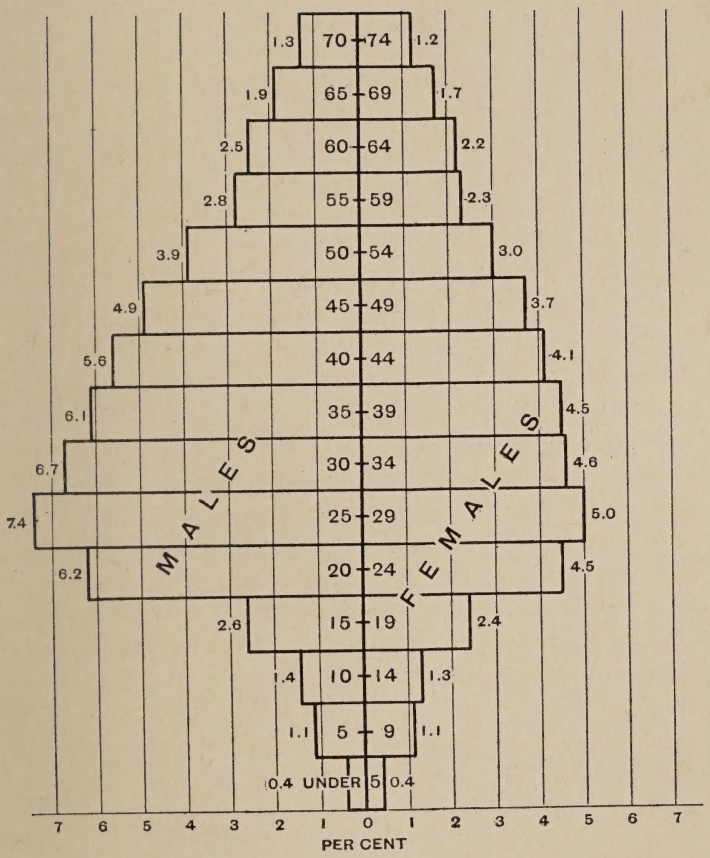
The Slovaks are the poorest people in the state, he says. Their aim in going to America is to make what is a fortune in their eyes. In this they usually succeed in about three years. It is generally the men only who leave, and these always with the fixed determination to return to their mountain homes as soon as their aim has been reached. He says further:

"None of the Slovak emigrants are paupers, neither is there any danger under reasonable circumstances that they may become such in America; for, unlike the Gypsies of Hungary, the Slovaks are not born beggars; to the contrary, they are always willing to work, and all the harder if by doing so their object may be reached sooner. Many of them are strictly day labourers and never possessed property beyond a little house or hut and an acre or two of the sterile land of their section.

"Their manner of living is the very plainest; their homes are often nothing but scanty huts, of one room, wherein the whole family lives and sleeps promiscuously. The furniture and outfit is very primitive, mostly home-made, and has to last for generations. The same can be said as to their clothing, 'biled shirts' being quite an unusual luxury with the men. The body clothes of the latter are made of coarse linen, their summer clothing of the same material, only coarser, and in winter their clothing consists of suits made from a coarse and thick woollen felting, in the natural colour of

SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION

Males greatly outnumber females among the foreign born, the ratio in 1910 being 131 males to 100 females. In the case of immigrants from southern and eastern European countries there is a very marked excess of males, the number per one hundred females being 191 for persons born in Italy, 161 for Hungary, 155 for Austria, and 137 for Russia. There is much less disparity between the sexes in the case of the foreign born from northwestern Europe. Ireland is the only country contributing a larger number of females than males. These differences in sex accord with the fact that the earlier immigrants came to a larger extent in families to settle permanently in this country, while most of those from southern and eastern Europe are single men, and when married are men who, coming only for a temporary stay, have left their families in their home countries. The age distribution is also to be noted in this diagram, as it is another important characteristic of our foreign-born population. More than one-fourth—26.1 per cent. of the total—are between twenty and thirty years of age, and more than one-fifth between thirty and forty. Nearly one-half of all our foreign born are between twenty and forty years of age. It is within these age groups that are found the greatest differences between the proportion of males and females.



By Courtesy Bureau of the Census

FOREIGN BORN, 1910, BY AGE AND SEX GROUPS

the wool; an everlasting cap of the sheepskin and a pair of sandals about complete an outfit which has been in vogue with them for generations and which may be an heirloom, since the style hardly ever changes. An important part of their outfit is the roomy and long mantle without sleeves, made up from half a dozen sheepskins which are tanned, the wool being left on; these 'overalls' are ever with them, and, as the season may demand, are worn either with the wool on the in- or out-side, and when the men are away from home these mantles form their complete bed. What these patriarchal cloaks may lack in style is generally made up for by some gaudy embroidery or even painting on the leather side of it.

"I do not wish to be unjust to these people, but from all I can learn their demand for water is but very limited for the use of the outer body as well as the inner. At home their diet consists principally of milk, potatoes, corn and rye bread; coffee and the meats being reserved luxuries of the wealthier for Sunday or holidays. While labouring in cities there is added to the above, if such can be done cheaply or gratis, the remnants or offal from the restaurant, or if times are especially 'flush' with them, fresh meat is bought from the butcher in the shape of the lungs, liver, or other unpopular but cheap portions of the beef. Their preferred drink is a sort of brandy made from potatoes or prunes, the latter called 'slivovitz,'

and since the presence of the Slovaks in America this brandy has become an article of export from here to the United States.

"In all, it will be seen that the tastes of these people are anything but refined, are low, in fact, and the only thing which may be said in their excuse is their ever present object to economise for the sake of their families. With the same stated object, they are, when employed en masse in the cities, not very choice as to the quantity, quality, or even sex of their bedfellows. Thus as many of them as can, men and women alike, will pack themselves into a room or cellar over night, and without the least regard to cleanliness or comfort. Though at all times practising the closest economy, they will when away even strain a point so that their object may be attained sooner. At such time they can be said to compete with the Chinese in the most penurious practices of economy; and were it not for their love of strong drink they could fairly be called the most frugal people living as far as the demands of the body go."

Consul Sterne states that the Slovaks have many characteristics in common with the Chinese. Like these, he says, they are extremely frugal, and their ambition lacks both in quality and quantity. "Thus they will work similarly cheap as the Chinese, and will interfere with a civilised labourer's earning a 'white' labourer's wages. Like the Chinese, again, they are

very exclusive people, and though American institutions may go a great ways towards removing this defect, it will usually require generations to make them enlightened citizens, where emigrants of other nations only need a few years. Another main objection to them is that, like the Chinese, they do not intend to remain in our country, not even as long as the latter, though like some of these, also, an occasional Slovak may 'stick.' But to show how sincere and strong their intention is to return home when they emigrate, I will state what I have from very good authority, namely, that some of the better-to-do families give their daughters in marriage to men upon the special condition, that after a reasonably lengthy honeymoon the husband must go to America to make his fortune, when he may come back again to his wife. While away they all conscientiously supply their families with the necessary means of living, thus again, like the Chinese, becoming no permanent benefit to the United States, their earnings never staying in the country. The little checks of money which the Slovaks in America send to their relatives and friends in Hungary, although usually for very small sums, represent vast fortunes to these modest people. This Slovak emigration sometimes depopulates whole villages."

The wage-receiving population of Austria also has been forced to an extremely low standard of living. In the south, milk, rice,

potatoes, corn meal, and beans are the principal articles of diet, meat being served only on Sundays and holidays. The clothing of the people, usually made of the coarsest fabrics, is frequently insufficient to keep them even fairly comfortable during the winter season. In northern Austria, even among the skilled industrial workers, the gross family receipts are not sufficient to equal the wage of a skilled workman in the United States. The work-day is eleven hours. Vegetable soups, rye bread, coffee, and beer, with very little meat, form the staple diet, which is rarely varied. The clothing worn is extremely simple; the houses of the workers are barren of everything except necessities. Savings are not large, because the utmost thrift is necessary to maintain a bare existence. In brief, nowhere else in Europe, with the possible exception of Russia and some parts of Italy, is labour so cheap as in Austria-Hungary. Extremely low wages, reflecting the low standard of living of the workers, have brought about direst poverty, with ensuing distress prevailing in virtually every manufacturing district throughout the country, as proven by an exhaustive government investigation.*

Immigrants from Russia are also from the poorest classes. Their manner of living is quite primitive and plain, most of them never having been accustomed to meat, but living

* Consul Hossfield, United States Consular Reports, Emigration and Immigration, 1903.

mostly on black bread made of rye, quite sour, and cabbage soup, and in summer other vegetables, principally cucumbers. In the winter they are clothed in sheepskins mostly, and in summer in cheap stuffs made of flax and cotton goods. This Slav makes his clothes from the wool of his own sheep and the flax and hemp grown on his own land and woven by his family. Of course his standard of living is low. The diet of the Poles and Lithuanians immigrating to the United States from Russia, according to Consul Slocum, is purely vegetable—bread and potatoes with occasionally a little milk. Their clothing is fully in accordance with their earnings; these latter are so small as to give no scope for saving and accumulation, and in consequence there is a total lack of savings banks in the country.

Villari tells us that the general standard of comfort among the lower classes from which our Italian immigrants come is also decidedly low, even in the most prosperous parts of the country. The Italian as a rule is frugal and his wants few. The principal food of the labourer at home is called polenta; as for meat, many never taste it except on rare feast days. In Lombardy, Venetia, and the South the majority of labourers and small farmers have very little more to eat than polenta or macaroni, many thousands suffering from a permanent lack or insufficiency of food. In southern Italy " the regular day labourers are in a very

wretched condition indeed, as their wages are deplorably low, their work hard, and their dwellings the merest hovels. Still more miserable are the irregular day labourers, hired for a particular job, not only on account of the lowness of their wage, but also because of the uncertainty of their work. On the whole, it may be said that the peasants of southern Italy and Sicily, with the exception of those in a few favoured districts or on particular estates, are more unfortunate than any other class of Italians." *

These statements as to the economic condition of the Slavic and Italian immigrants in their European homes are given solely to indicate the extremely low standard of living which conditions largely beyond their control have forced them to endure. This standard, it is important to bear in mind, they bring with them to the United States.

What effect is this immigration or invasion of cheaper labourers with a much lower standard of living than that of the workers with whom they come into competition—what effect is this having on the American workingman?

The late Professor Mayo-Smith of Columbia University, after years of study of the immigration problem, came to this conclusion in his "Emigration and Immigration": "All the arguments regarding the economic gain to this country through free immigration proceed

* Villari: "Italian Life in Town and Country."

from the standpoint of the production of wealth. They ignore the character and social influence of the immigrant, and content themselves with showing the advantage of having command of this increased labour force which is furnished us free of charge by the nations of Europe. Too often, also, they pass over a second question which, even from the purely economic standpoint, deserves consideration. That is as follows: What effect has this constant immigration on the labour already here? on its wages, its standard of living, and its contentment? This question is no less important than the preceding one,—in fact in many respects it is more important. For the first is merely a question of more or less rapid growth in material wealth, which, in the present condition of the United States, is a matter of minor importance. But the second ramifies out into the great question of the condition of the working classes, of their content or discontent, and this at the present time is the most serious problem confronting civilised nations. We have not vindicated free immigration even economically, when we have shown that it increases the production of wealth. We must go one step further and determine its effect on the labouring class of America."

In the chapter that follows we shall attempt to show the most important of these effects. The anthracite industry has been selected because it is set off by itself away from conflicting

and counteracting influences, more so than most industries, so that there we can see quite clearly how the economic forces operate. A similar study of any of the other great industries of the United States would differ only in the details of the problem.

CHAPTER VIII

STANDARDS OF LIVING

On the palatial steamers that nightly ply the Hudson River are powerful searchlights, the concentration of whose rays along the shore brings out in bold relief amid the surrounding darkness particular objects as they are passed by. Here it is a lighthouse, there a group of buildings; again some other object, as a landing or a section of the giant Palisades.

In like manner, figuratively, let us concentrate our mind's searchlight upon some of the more important industrial effects as the newer immigration stream has cut its channel among the population of the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. We shall necessarily have to pass over many important influences; in fact, we will have to centre attention almost wholly upon some phases of that industrial competition which this immigration has brought into play among the mine workers.*

The production of anthracite in the United States is confined within an area in northeastern Pennsylvania of seventeen hundred square miles having an actual coal area of only 485

* The material in this chapter, now revised and brought down to date, was originally presented in "The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers," which book is out of print.

square miles. This great industry is reputed to represent a capital investment of $700,000,000 with natural annual profits of about $100,000,000, and produces each year about eighty million short tons of hard coal valued at more than $175,000,000. It furnishes a freight traffic worth sixty million dollars a year to eight important railway systems, and pays annually approximately eighty million dollars in wages to about 180,000 mine employés.

The anthracite communities in northeastern Pennsylvania in their broad aspects are not unlike other American communities. The largest city is Scranton, with a population in 1910 of one hundred and thirty thousand, and the second largest Wilkes-Barre, with sixty-seven thousand inhabitants. Other important cities, each having twenty-five thousand or less, are Hazleton, Pottsville, Pittston, Mahanoy City, Carbondale, Shenandoah, Tamaqua, and Shamokin. Surrounding these large cities are numerous smaller towns and villages, or "patches," as the mining hamlets or groups of buildings in near proximity to a mine are called, extending for many miles throughout the valleys, and connected generally by electric railways. There we find a population exceeding one million people, nearly all of whom are dependent directly and indirectly upon this single industry for the means of livelihood.

In the cities and towns of the eight counties the occupations and daily callings of many of

the inhabitants are not different from the varied activities which go to make up communal life in other American cities. Some are in the professions, some in the various lines of business, others in different trades identified with the railroads, powder-mills, silk-mills, factories, foundries, and tool and other manufacturing plants. The single dominant group in all these communities, however, consists of the mine workers and their families, and it is their activity that gives the colour to communal life. They are conspicuous in the religious, educational, political, and other broad social activities of the region, and upon their prosperity rests largely the prosperity of the communities.

Of these one hundred and eighty thousand mine employés about seventy thousand are engaged in the performance of various tasks outside the mines or above ground, such as superintendents, bookkeepers, clerks, foremen, blacksmiths, carpenters, engineers, firemen, slate-pickers, drivers, watchmen, and so on. Among the one hundred thousand and more underground workers are foremen or mine bosses, fire-bosses, door-boys, drivers, runners, labourers, miners, track-layers, timbermen, road-cleaners, car-couplers, stablemen, masons, pumpmen, pipemen, water-bailers, and so on. Of all the outside and inside employés only about fifty thousand are *miners* proper, that is, workers engaged directly in the mining of coal.

Coal mining was undertaken in the region as early as 1820. The first workers of the mines were natives and the older immigrant races, and as the industry grew these English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, and Germans increased in number. With the natives they dominated the industry all during the fifty years following. Conflicts between these races and efforts on the part of labour union leaders to organise them into a harmonious group in their struggles with the employers punctuate the history of the industry down to 1876. The details of this history I have presented in "The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers."

This domination of the industry by the English-speaking races is indicated in the census of 1870. In that year the total foreign born within the region numbered 108,000, of which nearly 105,000 were from England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany. In other words, more than ninety-seven per cent were of the English-speaking races. This takes no account of their native descendants.

As the ten years from 1880 mark a striking change in the racial composition of the immigration stream flowing from Europe into the United States, they also clearly emphasise a similar change in that portion which was being directed into the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. This is indicated in the fact that while virtually all the 108,000 foreign born in 1870 were of the English-speaking races, these latter

formed less than seventy-five per cent twenty years later, and less than thirty-one per cent in 1910.

Inasmuch as the total foreign born had constantly increased in number—from 108,000 to 267,000—some other immigrant races must have gone into the anthracite region. These were the Slavs and Italians—those born in Austria-Hungary and Russia, including Bohemia and Poland, and in Italy.

In 1870 in the entire region there were only 306 representatives of these countries; even ten years later their number did not exceed 1925—less than two in every one hundred foreign born. But by 1890 they had increased to more than 43,000; within the next decade to 89,000, and in 1910 to about 178,000. From less than one per cent of the total foreign born in 1870 they had jumped to more than sixty-six per cent in 1910—to more than two-thirds. Their number within the region increased during the past thirty years more than 175,000. To-day for every one hundred foreign-born persons in the anthracite region as many as sixty-six are Slavs and Italians.

This movement of the newer races into the anthracite region is shown in the following table. For 1910 those from Poland (with the exception of German Poland) are included with those from Austria and Russia, no separate enumeration of those born in Poland having been made by the last census.

SLAVS AND ITALIANS IN THE ANTHRACITE REGION

Country of Birth	1870	1910
Total Foreign Born.....	108,000	267,000
Poland	273	....
Russia	....	70,529
Austria	....	64,369
Hungary	....	14,255
Italy	33	28,650
Total Slavic and Italian..	306	177,803

Back of this statistical presentation of the Slavic and Italian invasion lay extremely harsh conditions which it precipitated among the English-speaking races and which present a dark and gloomy picture. It is a picture of a long and bitter struggle between these two distinctly marked groups for industrial supremacy in the hard coal industry. Primarily and essentially this struggle was a conflict between two widely different standards of living. And although cannons were not used or warships brought into action to centre the attention of the nation, none the less the results were every bit as disastrous to the English-speaking races as if the invaders had actually come with the sword unsheathed and in battle array.

Prior to the coming of the Slav and Italian the native American, and the English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, and German mine workers had

been brought to a common standard of living and to a more or less common knowledge of the English language. It is true that recruits who had not attained to a social life of an equal degree of dignity and comfort were constantly being added from these European countries, and yet, for purposes of distinction, they can with the native be grouped roughly as English-speaking. For these recruits, being of the same races as those already dominant there, were with comparative ease, through family ties, intermarriage, and imitation, soon drawn up to the higher standard of living.

As a general thing the mine worker of this group wanted a home, with a wife and children and some degree of comfort. In that home he wanted none but his own immediate family or very near relatives. For the rent of a neat two-story frame house with a porch and yard he usually paid about four dollars a month. He wanted a carpet in the best room, pictures on the wall, and the house to be otherwise attractive and comfortable. His monthly cost of living averaged about one dollar for shoes, three dollars for clothing, one dollar and a half each for household goods, doctor and medicine, fuel, and light; and fifty cents each for church, insurance, and union dues and assessments. Over and above these was his demand for food. His wife, he liked to see comfortably and fairly well dressed. For his children he had ambitions which re-

quired their attendance at the little red schoolhouse on the hill. Besides these he had other desires and longings which continually pressed upon him for satisfaction. He was a worker whose growing wants were always a little beyond his wages. This tended to make him dissatisfied and to cause him to protest if anything operated to affect adversely his earnings. In brief, the standard of living of the English-speaking races was a comparatively high one, which needed for its maintenance a comparatively high wage. Of course it is not meant that all the English-speaking mine workers had exactly the same standard of living, but it can be said, as a general thing, that with all of them the tendency was towards one nearly uniform standard, and that a comparatively high one.

In striking contrast with all this is the mode of life which the Slav and Italian brought with them into the region. They began to come in largest numbers about thirty years ago; a few stray ones came earlier, says Miss Balch, in "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens," describing the first arrivals of the Poles and Slovaks in the anthracite region.* They came in batches,

* Poles are known to have been at Shamokin in the southern hard coal fields as early as 1870, and at Shenandoah by 1873. There were also Poles at Nanticoke and Mt. Carmel prior to 1880. The first Ruthenian church to be built in America was erected at Shenandoah in 1885. During the ten years following 1880 Polish settlements grew up at Plymouth, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Hazleton, and Freeland. Poles were also located by the nineties in Mahanoy City, New Philadelphia, and other mining districts.

shipped by the carload to the coal fields. When they arrived they seemed perfectly aimless. It was hard for them to make themselves understood. They would land at the depot, and at the beginning spend the first night on the platform, or in a stable on the hay. Sometimes they would go up into the brush, build a fire, and camp on the ground. As soon as they earned something, or if they had a little money, they would go to the baker's or get meat of any cheap sort, regardless of its condition. Many were so poor that they came in old army suits, their belongings all in one big bundle. At first it was only the men that came.

These Slavs and Italians do not object to living in a one-room hut built by their own hands on the hillside, of driftwood, gathered at spare moments from along the highway and roofed with tins from discarded powder cans. In not a few of their living places the most conspicuous articles of furniture are bunks arranged in rows along the side of the wall. They are not particular with whom or with how many they live, except that usually they want them to be of their own nationality.

The writer knows of one case where fourteen Slavs, all unmarried, rent one large room in an abandoned, tumble-down store building. It is taken care of by a housekeeper, who also prepares the meals. Each man has his own tin plate, tin knife, fork, and cup; he has his

own ham and bread, and a separate place in which to keep them. Some things are bought in quantities in common, the distribution being made by the housekeeper. For a bed the men sleep in bunks resembling shelves in a grocery store. The cost per month to these fourteen is not over four dollars each. They spend little on clothes the year round, wearing cast-off garments purchased of some second-hand dealer.* Shoes they secure in the same way; they have no insurance dues to meet; for fuel they burn coal from the culm banks or wood collected from along the highway, which costs them nothing. Out of a wage averaging the year round about thirty dollars a month many of the Slavs and Italians easily save from fifteen to twenty dollars a month. Not a few "board" with married members of their own nationality at an expense not to exceed twelve dollars a month.

The Slav with a family cannot save so much, but in not a few cases even with a wife and children his slightly higher cost of living is met by the wife taking in "boarders." The family income of the married Slav and Italian is also increased through the work of the wife, she doing manual labour such as picking coal from the culm bank, carrying driftwood from the

* In a funeral procession of more than five thousand "foreigners" at Shenandoah in 1900, nearly every man wore clothes long out of fashion—hats, coats, and trousers bought by second-hand dealers in the large cities and sent to the coal fields, or purchased by the wearers upon landing in this country.

forest nearby for fuel, and so on. She usually goes about barefooted and bareheaded even in the streets. To her the possession of a hat is an almost unknown luxury and marks a tremendous leap in the social status of the happy owner. Her meagrely few garments are of the poorest kind of material. Besides all this, to these workers children are an asset instead of a liability. It is not the Slav and Italian with a family,* however, but the unmarried labourer that is the typical competitor of the English-speaking mine worker for his place in and around the mine.

This low standard of living of this cheap immigrant labourer is in marked contrast with that of the older nationalities engaged in coal mining. In nearly every case where it has been possible to compare fairly the store purchases of representatives of the two groups, the accounts of the English-speaking miners were found to be twice, and in many cases three times, as high as those of the Slav and Italian races. They show in detail that the English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, and German mine workers consume a larger variety and a much better quality of goods than the Russian, Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, and Italian. This is as true

* By the time the Slav and Italian has been in the region eight or ten years and brought his wife and family from his European country, the forces about him gradually increase his effective wants so that he too demands a higher standard of living. Economically he then passes over into the industrial group of the English-speaking races.

of the clothes purchased as of the food consumed. Again, not a few of the older nationalities own their homes, this being particularly true of the Welsh in the Wyoming field. The Slavs, with very few exceptions, rent their houses, and these usually not of the best or even of the average. They crowd together in large numbers, not only in the same house but also in the same section of the town, and this in the poorest district where rents are low.

These are a few of the many differences between the English-speaking and the Slavic and Italian races which show the source of advantage of the latter in competition for the sale of manual labour. Another advantage is that the daring Slav ventures into more dangerous places to mine coal where few of the other nationalities care to go; he works longer hours, and puts up with regulations of employment benefiting capital about which the English-speaking worker complains.

Thus it is that the Slovak, Pole, Magyar, Croatian, Lithuanian, Slovenian, Russian, and Italian, coming for the greater part single-handed and alone, without a wife or family, have been able to crowd their way into all the occupations about the collieries. Escaping from an agricultural environment which had supplied them but meagrely with bare food, clothing, and shelter; brought into the region in the debt of the labour contractor representing the railroad mining companies, as many of

Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

THE NEWER IMMIGRATION

them have been,* they were under the pressing necessity of securing immediate wages. Placed in the anthracite region by the force of circumstances about which they knew nothing, without either the time, or the means, or the knowledge, even if they had possessed the mental quality, to look elsewhere for work, they injected into the industry their cheap labour whose effects, like an epidemic, penetrated with great rapidity into every channel of the communal life of the mine workers.

Not only were there these significant differences but the Slav and Italian invasion also precipitated upon the older population a group of races with strange languages and still stranger habits and customs and institutions—races that are ethnically, politically, socially, and religiously as well as industrially different from the older group of miners.

It was these marked economic and social differences which the coming of the Slav and Italian aligned against each other, and which it precipitated in conflict. In the absence of any effective control of their competition through a strong labour union prior to 1900, a twenty years' struggle for industrial supremacy in the anthracite industry between the older and newer immigrant races was inevita-

* The introduction of this class of labour followed the act of Congress of 1874 the object of which was "to encourage immigration." At that time companies were formed to carry out the intention of Congress.

ble. The results are clearly indicated in the census statistics. We have already seen how the Slavs and Italians increased in numbers from 1870 to 1910. Here is the present-day result of the conflict as it has affected the English-speaking races:

ENGLISH-SPEAKING RACES IN THE ANTHRACITE REGION

Country of Birth	1870	1890	1910
Total Foreign	108,000	171,000	267,000
Ireland	43,000	42,000	21,000
England	33,000	25,000	18,000
Wales		24,000	17,000
Scotland	3,000	4,000	3,000
Germany	21,000	29,000	23,000
English-speaking	105,000	124,000	82,000

Although the total foreign born had increased to 171,000 in the twenty years to 1890, the Irish, English, Scotch, Welsh, and Germans had increased to only 124,000; to have had the same relative proportion as in 1870 they should have increased to about 170,000.* In

* In 1900 the English-speaking races not only showed no increase but had actually decreased to about one hundred thousand at the same time that the total foreign born had jumped to 194,000—the Germans, Irish, English, Welsh, and Scotch then forming but little more than one-half, or fifty-three per cent.

1910, the total foreign born exceeded 267,000, an increase over 1900 of nearly thirty-eight per cent. The English-speaking group had decreased by 1910 to only eighty-two thousand, a loss from 1900 of eighteen thousand. During the forty years—within a generation—they have dropped from more than ninety-seven to less than thirty-one per cent.

The most marked decrease, it will be noticed, has been among the Irish. This is explained largely by the determined efforts the operators made, following the reign of terror inaugurated by the "Molly Maguires" in the sixties, to force this nationality in particular out of the coal mining industry, as its members were charged with the numerous depredations, riots, and murders which took place in the decade following 1865. The operators had found them an easily excited race, quick to resent oppression and imposition, whether real or imaginary, and the most troublesome to the employers of all the nationalities engaged in the mining of hard coal. The Irish have been the leaders or agitators of every labour organisation in the history of the industry since their first entrance into the region. Even to-day they are in control and dominate the miners' union in the three fields.

It is not without relevance to note in this passing from the industry of the English-speaking races that the Irishman, more than any other immigrant group, has been the sol-

vent in the amalgamation and assimilation of most of the other nationalities, first in point of time among the less widely different English-speaking group and in more recent years among the Slavs and Italians. Without a country that he could completely call his own because of the political subjection of Ireland to England, he early upon his arrival in the United States secured great political power as a race. Not only has he been our political ward boss but also our labour union "boss" and strike leader. In all the emergencies of the anthracite mine workers the Irishman seems naturally to have risen to direct the other races. Perhaps this is partly because he has that human sympathy and comradeship, coupled with ingenuity and firmness, that will not permit him for long to be a witness to injustice and oppression. His most striking mental characteristic is a disregard of consequences—his fearlessness or daring in opposing those who have become the object of his hatred or vengeance. He is quick in action, too, and has proven himself a manipulator of circumstances. Then, too, he has the gift of words and of emotional appeal.

All these have made the Irishman an assimilator of races. He not only organised the English-speaking nationalities but also directed the Slavs and Italians in the anthracite region in the strikes of 1900 and 1902. Races and groups that up to that time had been warring and fighting one another were then united in a

common cause by the Irish organiser and orator, who fired the blood of the Slav and Italian to the point of persuading even them to join with the English-speaking strikers.

We have already seen that the entrance into the region of the Slavs and Italians was marked during the decade preceding 1890 and that their migration there in increasing numbers continues to the present time. Their coming was the cause of the expulsion from the region of natives and of the German, Welsh, Irish, English, and Scotch. The results of this bitter conflict by decades are shown at a glance by the following comparative figures:

IMMIGRANT RACES IN THE ANTHRACITE REGION.*

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Total Foreign Born..	108,000	109,000	171,000	194,000	267,000
Slav and Italian.....	306	1,925	43,000	89,000	178,000
English-speaking....	105,000	103,000	124,000	100,000	82,000

Briefly then, down to 1910, the effect of the Slav and Italian invasion of the anthracite industry was the migration of the older English-speaking nationalities. They did not, as a general thing, voluntarily retire from their occupations, but were forced out of them by the competition of the cheaper labour. The rapidity

* In all the tables of the foreign born in the anthracite fields have been excluded the comparatively small number from Canada, Newfoundland, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Bulgaria, Australia, China, Japan, South and Central America, Cuba, Mexico, and other countries not specified in the census reports, and those born at sea, who were in the region at the taking of each census.

with which they were driven out of the industry is even more striking and dramatic than the census statistics enable us to show, for the reason that while forced from their mining occupations many of them remained within the counties and engaged in other activities. The great strikes of the mine workers in 1900 and 1902 were mere episodes in this conflict of races; they but mark the climax of the efforts on the part of the English-speaking group to control, through their union—the United Mine Workers of America—the competition of the Slav and Italian.

We have no official bulletins or reports of the numbers that fell in this sharply waged contest. While it was not fought with swords and guns and pistols it was none the less a battle. While the fields were not strewn with the mangled bodies of those dying from sabre cuts and gunshot wounds, none the less of equal destructiveness were the marks left upon those who sought retreat from its horrors in hospitals, almshouses, insane asylums, and like institutions. Many a pauper's field marks the resting-place of men and women who fell in that struggle.

If the reader thinks this analogy far-fetched let him but go into the anthracite region and there observe some of the scars and wounds which this conflict has left on minds and bodies and institutions. Many a worker and many a family were prevented from raising their standard of living; others were compelled to

lower their standard, while for many more the struggle merely to exist was a most severe battle for the necessities of life. The pressure upon some mine workers was so great as to force their boys of tender years into the breaker and their girl children into the silk mill in order that the pittance they earned might aid in supplying the family's needs. This competition of the Slavs and Italians affected the lives of hundreds of thousands of people; it determined the number of births in the community; it influenced powerfully the physical and mental qualities of those born into the world under such stress of conditions; it was a powerful, dominant force at work in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania during the twenty years prior to 1900, threatening and retarding communal advancement and attacking those institutions which we justly prize so highly, sending influences for evil deep down into the very foundation of our social structure. Like all powerful forces it had its beginning in small things—in the ability of one group of workers to live on less than another group, coupled with the desire of the managers of capital in the anthracite industry to secure a low labour cost of production—and, like all great economic forces, its effects have been so far-reaching as to be untraceable in all their manifestations.

Let us not forget that all this was brought about by the competition of men for jobs; that

the group or race with the fewest wants or lowest necessities will, unless its competition is controlled, inevitably supplant or drive out of an industry workers having a higher standard of comfort; that the competition of races is nothing less than the battle of standards of living; that the result of this competition of standards determines the stability and continuance of institutions, and that this conflict will not necessarily of itself result in perpetuating those institutions best adapted to American civilisation.

CHAPTER IX

SOME EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION

THAT this competition of the Slavs and Italians, which has forced the English-speaking races and the native workers out of the anthracite mines, is operating to-day with equally significant results in every one of our important industries, is a fact to be observed on all sides. Even better than observation are the convincing facts of an official investigation conducted by the Commission on Immigration of the State of New York.* These show that this supplanting of the native and assimilated workers by the newer immigrant races has been proceeding rapidly in the manufacture of iron, cigars, linoleum and sole leather, collars, cuffs, and shirts; agricultural implements, clothing, electrical machinery and supplies, carpets, pottery, paper, wood products, silk goods, shoes, railroad supplies, the building and repairing of cars, and in scores of other industrial establishments.

The results of the extended inquiries of the Commission show, for illustration, that in the manufacture of collars and cuffs, the Irish are being supplanted by Poles and Armenians; in that of woollens, worsted, and underwear, the

* Report transmitted to the Legislature April 5, 1909.

Irish and English by Poles and Italians; in cotton goods, the English-speaking by the Italians and Poles; in men's and children's clothing, the Germans by Russians and Italians; in the paper industry, Germans, English, and Irish by Russians and Poles; in the manufacture of gas and electrical fixtures, Germans by Italians and Russians; in the rope industry, Irish and Swedes by Italians; in gypsum making the invasion is by Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, and Italians. In all these cases native workers are also being displaced along with the older immigrant nationalities.

The cotton textile industry of New England was originally operated by the educated sons and daughters of American stock. The Irish first supplanted many of these, and the French Canadians completed the displacement; then, when the native children of the Irish and French had begun to acquire a higher standard, the introduction into the industry of Portuguese, Greeks, Syrians, Poles, and Italians prevented a rise in wages and kept down the standard of living. Professor Commons also tells us that branches of the clothing industry in New York began with English and Scotch tailors, were then captured by Irish and Germans, next by Russian Jews, and lastly by Italians, while in Boston the Portuguese took a share, and in Chicago the Poles, Bohemians, and Scandinavians. "Almost every great manufacturing and mining industry," he says, "has experi-

enced a similar substitution of races. As rapidly as a race rises in the scale of living, and through organisation begins to demand higher wages and resist the pressure of long hours and overexertion, the employers substitute another race and the process is repeated." * Facts in the recent report of the Federal Immigration Commission abundantly substantiate this analysis of the economic process.

Let us glance at some of the social consequences. "It is largely true that the labour of Lowell earns the dividends, but they are mostly spent elsewhere, because the stock of the mill corporation is owned elsewhere," said the Church League of Lowell, Massachusetts, one of the centres of the cotton mill industry, in a statement issued as long ago as 1893. "Thus we are confronted by the worst kind of absenteeism. The profits earned here go from here, while the mass of poverty, want, and vice that accumulates in every large manufacturing centre is dumped on the charity of our churches and the hospitality of our poorhouses. We see the dreary dwellings of the earners of scanty wages; we see the premature age and disability of those broken down by the rapidly increasing speeding of machinery; we confront the intemperance and vice that follow from the hard conditions and the hopeless despair of their bettering. The notebooks of our ministers are filled with sad, sad cases of desti-

* Commons: "Races and Immigrants in America."

tution, sickness, and death, made peculiarly sad by the life history of a mill operative."

The recent social eruption among the textile workers at Lawrence, Massachusetts, is but a sign of the times and an indication of what is very likely to become a much more frequent occurrence in the cotton and other industries.

Steel production is one of the great and most prosperous industries in the United States to-day. It is an industry to which some point with pride as being typical of what America has accomplished! Look at the intolerable labour conditions there as disclosed by the "Pittsburg Survey" recently published by the Russell Sage Foundation! Look at the wholly un-American situation among the employés of the mills of the Bethlehem Steel Works at South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania! Both are due very largely to the free importation of large numbers of low-wage workers. There is no labour union among the steel mill workers!

The conditions at Bethlehem are revealed in a report by the Department of Commerce and Labour of the United States Government submitted to the Senate in May 1910. This report by the Federal Bureau of Labour states that 2,322 men out of 9,184 persons employed work twelve hours a day for seven days a week, and that a large percentage of the labourers earn only twelve and one-half cents an hour. Many skilled workmen have approximately a ten and one-half hour day for six days of the

week, and a large number of them are frequently required to work overtime on weekdays and do additional work on Sundays. The men with the shorter hours, to a considerable extent, are paid on a bonus system, which results in their forcing their working pace, and they claim that their work is carried on at such high pressure that overtime and Sunday work are an undue tax on their strength. They advance the further claim, according to the government report, that they fear that the encroachments of overtime and Sunday work will ultimately lead to putting the twelve hour day and the seven day week into practical effect throughout the entire plant. Of the 9,184 persons on the company's pay-roll in January, 4,725, or over fifty per cent, worked in positions regularly requiring twelve or more hours of labour a day on their regular working days. The pay-roll showed that 2,628, or twenty-nine per cent, were regularly required to work seven days a week, and for these Sunday work was not considered overtime. "Of the men whose normal week consisted of only six days," the report states, "1,413, or more than fourteen per cent, were required to do extra work on one or more Sundays during the month. Thus a total of 4,041, or more than forty-three per cent of those appearing on the January pay-roll, were required to work at least on some Sundays. A considerable amount of overtime work was also required of the ten and one-

half hour men on days other than Sundays. Eighty-two men were reported as having a thirteen-hour day for the entire seven days."

Men receiving less than sixteen cents an hour (excluding apprentices) number 4,221, or forty-six per cent. The wage tables show that in January machinists on first-class work, working straight time, averaged 27.6 cents per hour, and those working under the bonus system averaged 32.7 cents per hour. Taking all machine hands and helpers together, the average, including the armour plate shop, for 1,036 men, was 18.5 cents per hour.*

Picture to yourself the living and social and economic environment of families compelled to exist on such low wages! It is nothing more nor less than the inevitable result of the forced competition of standards of living, with the advantage in favour of that standard the existence of which is most injurious to the safety of republican institutions. The effects in the steel industry are equally as disastrous to the citizen-worker as we have seen them to have been in the hard coal industry.

Not only are the newer immigrant races driving out the natives and older nationalities from our industries, but they are also displacing them in many of the trades and occupations. This is true, for illustration, in bricklaying and

* Since the above was written the Federal Bureau of Labour has issued a somewhat similar report as to the labour conditions among the employés of the United States Steel Corporation.

masonry, in plumbing, sheet-metal working, carpentering and wood-working, in painting, decorating, and paper-hanging, and in stone and marble cutting. According to the report of the New York State Immigration Commission, Poles and Italians are becoming carpenters and joiners, as well as wood-workers and plasterers; Russians are becoming painters and plasterers. One New York union of bricklayers and masons reports that "about all stone masons are Italians now." A union of plasterers and bricklayers states that "the Italians are gradually getting control of our line of work in the outskirts and are working their way into the centre of the city." One barbers' union reports that "Italians to a very great extent are supplanting Germans." Jews and Belgians are becoming sheet and metal workers, Austrians iron moulders, and Italians granite cutters.

That these newer races, the large majority of whom are registered at Ellis Island as "farmers" or "farm labourers," so soon and so easily adjust themselves to the requirements of the different industries and trades, is not surprising when we recall the explanation that has already been made as to their industrial adaptability. Primarily the demand made of the immigrant in most of the occupations he enters is at first for rough unskilled labour, and this demand the recent European peasant-workman supplies without further training. He is also, as we

have seen, equipped by his European experience for more skilled work. This explains, to some extent, how the Slav and Italian invasion has been able to permeate virtually every important industry and trade and occupation in the United States, particularly in the eastern and middle western industrial and manufacturing states. Another explanation is to be found in the extremely low wage to which this more recent immigrant has been accustomed in his European home.

Consul Hossfield, reporting to the Department of Commerce and Labour in December 1903, stated that the average daily wages in southern Austria were from twenty-five to sixty cents in the country and from forty to ninety cents in towns. The United States Consul reported from Hungary about the same time that wages there for labourers and farm hands ranged from twenty to forty cents a day. In Austria-Hungary as a whole, wages are less than in western Europe, from two dollars to two dollars and fifty cents a week being about the average in such trades as tailoring, boot and shoe making, and in the textile industries. Wages are also exceedingly low in Russia, from fifty to seventy-five dollars for six months in spinning and weaving and from sixty to seventy-five dollars for six months' employment in iron and steel foundries being considered a good wage. In towns, wages average from twenty-five to forty cents a day. Able-bodied agricul-

tural labourers receive sixty dollars a year, or fifteen to twenty-five cents a day in season. And the day's work is much longer than eight hours.

These low wages paid in Europe reflect the very low standard of living which enables the more recent immigrant to enter successfully into competition with the native worker and the older assimilated immigrant. He continues here his low standard of living. This fact must be insisted upon. United States Consul Jonas, reporting to the State Department, says of the immigrants from Hungary that they "are mostly of a class whose habits of life are very low, and during their temporary stay in the United States they not only stick to their low habits, but actually try to live, in most cases, perhaps, on a scale even more degraded than at home, in order to increase their savings, which they intend to carry out of the country." Every mail takes thousands of dollars to Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia where they are placed as savings in the banks of the principal cities in the emigration districts, these having on deposit millions of dollars earned in America. This immigrant earns and saves and in a few years returns home. One of the consequences of this is that every year a large number of immigrants go back to Europe, forming that growing stream of emigration from the United States which has become so common as to be designated as "birds of passage." Many times they migrate again, often having married, paid

off a mortgage, or made an investment of some sort.

Thus the immigrant with his low standard of living is able to save from the higher wages he receives in this country—wages upon which the American worker, with his much higher standard, finds it difficult to make both ends meet.

Let us glance for only a moment at some of the more general effects of this recent immigration upon that group of our population that has not yet secured an industrial status—the negro.

Twenty years ago negroes were being drawn quite rapidly from the Southern States into our northern cities where they made up the serving class. They were cooks, waiters, butlers, footmen and coachmen, and general household servants. There was hardly a large hotel in any of the great northern cities where they were not employed almost exclusively as bell boys, porters, waiters, and so on. They were our cabmen, janitors, office porters, bootblacks; virtually all our barber shops were run by negroes; and in a score and more different ways the black man was being fitted into a place in our industrial and social life which in course of time would have better adjusted him to his new and changed environment.

To-day, all these and many other positions have been wrested from the negro by the Slav and Italian. Our shoes are now blacked by

the Greek and Italian; they wait upon us at table in our hotels and restaurants; we are shaved by the Italian barber. This newer immigrant is cooking our food and doing our household work, as the women of these races in ever increasing number join the men who preceded them. What has become of the type of negro they have supplanted is a serious question. As a general thing, not only has his economic status been lowered but he has also been removed from that close social intercourse with the white race which these occupations brought to him. The result is that his adjustment will be much less rapid and, in consequence, will continue with us for a much longer period than otherwise the so-called negro problem.

Even the recent immigrants are coming to a recognition of the disastrous effects uncontrolled immigration brings to bear in limiting the opportunity in America for a decent standard of living and a fair wage. And were it not for the fact that their racial and religious ties and sympathies are in conflict with their economic self-interest, we would have found them much earlier taking a position of opposition to this free importation of cheap labour. Here is part of a resolution adopted by the general executive board of the United Garment Workers of America, consisting with one exception of Russian Jews. It was passed at the close of an unsuccessful strike in New York in 1905:

"*Resolved,* That the unprecedented movement of the very poor to America from Europe in the last three years has resulted in wholly changing the previous social, political, and economic aspects of the immigration question. The enormous accessions to the ranks of our competing wage-workers, being to a great extent unemployed, or only partly employed at uncertain wages, are lowering the standard of living among the masses of the working people of this country, without giving promise to uplift the great body of immigrants themselves. The overstocking of the labour market has become a menace to many trade-unions, especially those of the less skilled workers. Little or no benefit can possibly accrue to an increasing proportion of the great numbers yet coming; they are unfitted to battle intelligently for their rights in this republic, to whose present burdens they but add others still greater. The fate of the majority of the foreign wage-workers now here has served to demonstrate on the largest possible scale that immigration is no solution of the world-wide problem of poverty.

"*Resolved,* That we warn the poor of the earth against coming to America with false hopes; it is our duty to inform them that the economic situation in this country is changing with the same rapidity as the methods of industry and commerce."

The resolution closed with a request to Congress that it should either suspend immigra-

tion entirely for a term of years or else put into operation legislative requirements that would considerably restrict it.

In all discussions of the immigration question, it is important never to forget that the alien labourer wields the power of effective competition because he comes as a wage-earner seeking a job. He comes, too, as the possessor of a cheaper labour to sell. Into whatever industry he enters, this labour is sold in competition with the American wage-earner, who is at a greater cost to produce his labour.

It is this economic characteristic that has enabled the immigrant to put into operation in nearly all our great industries economic and social forces similar to those which have worked so much havoc the past thirty years to the employés in the anthracite industry. To this Slavic and Italian invasion—to the unrestricted importation of cheaper labour—we can trace not only the strikes of the hard coal mine employés in 1900 and 1902, but also those of the steel workers at Pittsburg in 1901 and 1909, of the employés in the Chicago slaughter-houses, in the New England textile mills, in the Bethlehem steel mills, in the clothing trades of New York City and Philadelphia, in the works of the Pressed Steel Car Company, and in numerous other industries during the past ten years and more.

It is not intended to give the impression that immigration has been the cause of all our in-

dustrial disturbances, but it is directly responsible for many of them. They are but surface indications of the economic struggle on the part of the newer immigrant nationalities to secure a foothold, or to retain that which they have secured in our industries. Or rather, it is a battle on the part of the older immigrant races and the natives to protect their jobs and wages and defend their standard of living. To picture what all this has meant to millions of our industrial toilers the past decade, one has only to reflect upon what we have already seen took place among the thousands of workers in the anthracite industry.

It is the citizen-worker who has to bear the brunt of this competition; upon him rests the burden of protecting his standard of living. So far this has proven a stupendous cost to him, to his family, and to our institutions. And it is a matter of vital significance in relation to the perpetuation of these institutions for us to realise that the American worker does not succeed in raising the immigrant from his very low to the comparatively high standard of living. Not only is this true, but the native has also been prevented from increasing his wages to accompany the natural tendency of his standard of living to rise. Even more than this, in all too many instances the native worker is actually being compelled to lower his standard and that of his family.

However important a part one's patriotism

might play in causing him to view with optimism the future of his country, if he is intellectually honest with himself and with others in his contemplation of the facts that are clearly observable in the industrial world to-day, he cannot do other than entertain and express serious forebodings as to the future of a large part of our population—the wage-earning class.

Frank N. Streightoff, in his study of the life of the industrial classes in America, "The Standard of Living," shows conclusively that in many cases the family income is below the minimum necessary for efficiency, as evidenced by the facts that housing conditions are widely unsatisfactory, that nearly one-third of the industrial families are insufficiently nourished, and that saving is extremely difficult and in many cases impossible.

"The average wage earner," says John Mitchell, in "Organised Labour," "has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward for his work be given him as a workingman." This tendency is in itself not so serious. But it is a matter of serious portent that millions of our wage earners are in economic surroundings injurious alike to their health and to their citizenship.

If the worker were nothing more than a worker this would not concern us so seriously. But the American workingman must be viewed

in a much broader light than that of a mere producer and seller of labour. In a democracy like ours it is impossible to dissociate the worker from the husband, the father, the citizen, the church member, and so on. He is all these and more in one. As a husband and father he has a wife and children to feed, clothe, and shelter. As a citizen he should properly meet his expenses as a voter and a taxpayer, and as a member of a church he has his contributions to make towards the support of his particular denomination. The schoolhouse for the education of his children, and beneficial and insurance societies and like institutions also have their worthy demands upon him.

For the protection of his Standard of Living against the many economic forces continually attacking it, and in order to raise his standard, the native workingman has only his money wages. Thus higher wages to the worker means greater power to guard himself and family against poverty, to support a higher standard of living, and to secure larger opportunities to benefit from democratic institutions. But except in those cases where the worker is strongly organised in a labour union, he has no control over the amount of his wages or over the economic forces constantly at work to prevent his wages from rising.

CHAPTER X

IMMIGRATION, THE LABOUR UNION, AND POVERTY

It should be plain that there is a minimum wage below which the American workingman cannot work. This minimum must be at least sufficient to meet the cost to him of producing his labour, that is, to buy his food and clothes and pay his rent. If this cost were the same for all workers, wages could not fall below the minimum thus set. It varies, however, among different groups. The lowest cost is set by the group having the fewest wants, and these are the mere physical demands for existence. If there were no inflow of labourers from other countries having a lower cost of living, the minimum wage would rise with that tendency for an increase in the wants of the native workers which is continually going on. The presence of immigrant labour in most of our industries, however, prevents this rise in wages—it checks the increase in effective wants.

Where a high and a low cost of living compete unrestrained in the same industry, there can be but one of two possible results: Either the worker with the higher cost must sink to the lower, or the worker with the lower cost must be raised to the higher. The forces bring-

ing about the former condition are to-day the most powerful in many of our industries. In them the low Standard of Living of the Slav and Italian has become the dominant one.

Our workers are learning by sad experience that they themselves must control to their own advantage all those economic forces that operate to keep wages low—that they must control in particular the competition of the immigrant. This they must do if they are to secure from the wealth they assist in producing sufficiently high wages to enable them and their families to live in comfort and health and to provide for accidents and old age. For these and like ends they are having recourse to the labour union. Where it is made strong enough the native worker is able to prevent a low price or wage being set for his labour. Thus the worker through the union aims to control those economic laws which determine wages—the price of labour.

Like organised capital, which fixes the price of its commodity, say coal, organised labour strives to set the price of its commodity, labour. Organised capital succeeds usually in fixing the price of its commodity because the consumer of it is unorganised; union labour is quite frequently prevented from controlling the price of its commodity because the consumer—the corporation in most instances—is not only organised but also resists such efforts. One method adopted by union labour to overcome

this opposition is the Trade Agreement through joint bargaining.

The principle is simple. The union has labour to sell. The corporation is the purchaser or consumer of labour. Like all persons having a commodity to sell, the union seeks the highest possible price for it; like all consumers, the corporation strives to secure this labour for the lowest possible price. Between the two opposite positions the union believes there is a "happy medium" upon which they both might agree. This, it claims, can be done through the trade agreement or by means of arbitration. To this many employers are opposed, because by any such methods they would have to pay a higher wage than they would if the monopoly in labour were taken away through the destruction of the union and the labourers were forced to compete with each other for the work to be done.

The corporation knows that if the competition of the immigrant is allowed to work uncontrolled, it will in time drive out of any industry the high standard of living of the American worker, and in its place will be substituted the low standard of the immigrant, to support which the employer need pay only a low wage. The employer also knows that if the union is destroyed or weakened, the control of the latter over the price of the immigrant's labour will be prevented, unrestricted competition of labour with labour will be secured, control through

the corporation of the supply of cheap immigrant labour will permit him to introduce a still greater number, and thus wages can always be kept at the minimum.

Labour is attempting through organisation, then, to secure control for the benefit of the wage-earner of the Law of Competition as it affects wages. It aims to hold in check or minimize the evil workings of all those economic forces that compel labour generally to sell at the price fixed by that part whose cost of production is lowest. The worker alone and unaided is defenceless against those powerful forces that tend constantly to bring him to this low estate. His "right" to work for whom and how and for what wages he pleases, which we are constantly being told is guaranteed by our constitution as an inalienable right, is no right at all when the market in which he must sell his labour is arbitrarily and artificially controlled by the purchaser of that labour. Rather is it true that his right is in a market where a fair wage is assured. Labour reared under American conditions and forced by our social and religious and educational and political institutions to meet a certain standard of living should not be compelled—should not even be permitted—to compete with European labour having no such demands upon it. Experience teaches us that it will be forced so to compete unless the possessor of that labour organises for its protection.

So long as there is virtually unrestricted immigration, the American workingman will be compelled to protect his labour market by controlling the immigrant upon his entrance into the industries. This he now tries to do by taking these immigrant men of different nationalities, races, creeds, customs, and languages, with their widely varying powers of industrial competition, and organising them into locals according to their nationality or language or places of employment. This labour union is primarily a mutual protective organisation of the native workers. Its bond of unionism is to-day the strongest single tie binding together more than three million of our industrial toilers and many other millions dependent upon them. It is more to them than politics, more than religion, more even than the strong social ties usually holding together the members of a community in law and order. It is all this and more because it aims to do for them what all these others cannot do. Organisation is teaching them the great benefits that come to the individual through coöperation for their fellow man.

The whole situation as regards present-day immigration is summed up in the statement that the employer wants to buy labour as cheaply as possible, while the labour union of native workers with a higher standard of living is striving to sell labour as dearly as possible. The former means for our toilers generally, wherever it

becomes effective, a low wage and a low standard of living; the latter a relatively high wage and one more in conformity with the demands of our democratic institutions. It also means the ability of our workers to prevent themselves being pushed over the poverty line. No industry that cannot afford to pay a wage sufficient to support a fairly decent and comfortable standard of living, should be permitted to exist in republican America. Society can far better afford to get along without a particular commodity than to permit its production at the price of a low wage to the worker.

The effects of this situation are even more serious to-day because of the very important fact that the avenue of escape to the great middle West that was open twenty-five and fifty years ago is now virtually closed to those who are bearing the burden of this economic conflict. Being unable to escape they are turning about to face those who bear in their brawny arms and willing hands the instruments of the economic battle—they are organising themselves in the labour union to carry on ceaseless warfare against these forces that are attacking their wages and their homes.

It was in the eighties that the pressure from the importation of the cheaper European labour brought in under contract, and in particular that of the Slav and Italian, first began to be felt most seriously by the native wage-earner. Up to this time the competition was

not so severe because the earlier Teutonic immigrant usually went on to the farm, or was quickly absorbed by our growing industries. But with the exhaustion of the land, so far as the ability of the newer immigrant to purchase is considered, came the rush into mining and manufacturing. Then the Knights of Labour was the strongest national union of workers, and through its activity largely a law was passed that was intended to prohibit the importation of cheap labour under contract. This law is known as the Alien Contract Labour Law.

In the early eighties came the formation of the American Federation of Labour. The growth of many labour organisations of the present day and the development of their militant activities runs parallel with the increase in Slavic and Italian immigration. For since 1880 there has come about a marked change in the labour problem as presented in the United States, and as affected by immigration. The entire ground has shifted in virtue of the fact that industrial conditions have changed greatly since then and especially since 1890. The period is also marked by a rapid introduction of machinery, which has also affected the wages and standard of living of the native worker in very much the same way as has the competition of the immigrant.

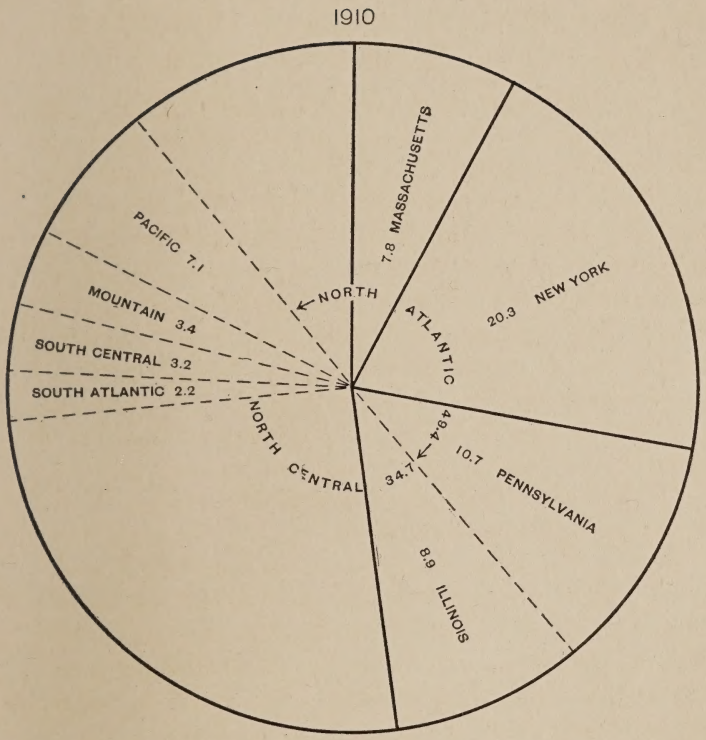
Which raises the inquiry, Has the United States reached that stage in its development

prophesied by Macaulay in 1857 in a letter to an American friend? "As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land," he said, "your labouring population will be far more at ease than the labouring population of the Old World. But the time will come when New England will be thickly populated. Wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Birminghams and Manchesters, and in these Birminghams and Manchesters hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be some time out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test."

By the close of the nineteenth century America's great natural asset of unlimited free land had about been exhausted. In so far as the settlement of the higher-priced land by the poorer immigrant is considered, the economic tendency that heretofore had provided new homes for so many millions of landless people has been reversed. The land area is no longer increasing. In consequence, however, of immigration having increased enormously we have reached that point where we can no longer ignore the relation between the yearly addition to our population by the immigration of one million and a quarter and our diminishing area for settlement. This great natural outlet, this national safety-valve, especially in times of business and industrial depression, can no longer be depended upon as in the past to absorb the increasing foreign as

FOREIGN BORN BY LEADING STATES AND DIVISIONS

Here is illustrated graphically the fact that nearly one-half—about forty-eight per cent.—of all our foreign born in 1910 is concentrated in the four states of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. New York state alone has much more than all that vast section of the country comprised in the South Atlantic, South Central, Mountain, and Pacific divisions. Even Massachusetts, which contains the smallest proportion—about eight out of every one hundred—of any of the four leading states, has a larger foreign-born population by almost half as much again as the total contained in Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. At the same time, the diagram also shows the proportional distribution of the foreign born by geographical divisions. Almost one-half—49.4 per cent.—is in the North Atlantic and more than one-third—34.7 per cent.—in the North Central divisions. In these two divisions have settled all but sixteen out of every one hundred of our foreign-born population.



CONCENTRATION OF THE FOREIGN BORN IN FOUR STATES AND IN TWO DIVISIONS

well as native population. Congestion of population has already begun to press for attention and to give to our institutions wholly new problems with which to grapple.

Not only did the close of the nineteenth century mark the exhaustion of the free public land, but also the upbuilding of the industrial state. One of the inevitable consequences of attempting to build into its foundation through immigration a low wage for the workers was the precipitation of the series of great industrial conflicts between capital and labour to which reference has already been made and which have truly more than once subjected our institutions to a severe strain. Nor are we through with these wars between capital and labour caused by immigration.

Serious as the prevalence of these are in the light of the perpetuation of our democratic institutions, there is an even more dangerous aspect of present-day economic tendencies resulting directly from immigration that should cause us to stop a moment and consider if the institutions which stand for our civilisation are not in jeopardy.

Just how much the newer immigration is responsible for enabling the corporation to proceed as far as it has on its way toward almost complete plutocratic organisation we cannot determine. Certain it is, however, that it could never have gone so far in this direction if our Captains of Industry and Napoleons of

Finance had had to deal entirely with the native worker and with employés of the Irish, English, Scotch, Welsh, German, and other Teutonic and Celtic races. These would never have brooked the industrial exploitation which has made possible this type of corporate organisation of the production and distribution of wealth and which exploitation the Slav and Italian has put up with uncomplainingly. Instead of a plutocratic industrial state we would have had an organisation more nearly reflecting the principles of Industrial Democracy.

Nor is it likely that the American people would to-day be confronting the astounding spectacle of a very small group in society in possession of millions upon millions of wealth that they have had no part in producing, while millions of workers are compelled to toil at hard labour for long hours on a low wage and under other adverse economic conditions of living as well as of employment.

In the thirties Miss Harriet Martineau, a penetrating English commentator on American social conditions, was able to say in " Society in America," that she " found sure evidence that labour and capital must in the end of things live happily together " under our institutions. She found an entire absence of paupers and a state of bliss in the Lowell cotton mills.*

* Contrast this statement with that of the Church League of Lowell as to conditions in 1893, presented on page 167.

De Tocqueville, the distinguished French critic of America before the Civil War, whose incisive impressions are recorded in two volumes entitled "Democracy in America," could also see no paupers, nor could he find any tendency to produce them. He could not believe that great inequality of wealth was to come to the citizens of our nation.

Bishop Spalding, writing on "The Religious Mission of the Irish People and Catholic Colonisation," published in 1880, says: "Pauperism, which half a century ago had no existence here, seems to be already as inveterate and ineradicable as in the Old World; and with it the dangerous classes—to use the accepted phrase—have come into startling prominence. In New York and other cities of the Union professional criminals increase more rapidly than the population; and we have already a whole people of vagrants, commonly known as tramps, in whom the moral sense seems to have perished."

As many as 913,000 persons were beneficiaries of charitable institutions in Massachusetts in 1909. This is the striking fact in the report for that year of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity, according to the *New York Times*.* "These figures are derived from the returns of 516 of the 583 such institutions in the State. Their total valuation is reported at $56,370,865, and their disbursements at $7,856,363. Of the 516 nearly half, or 245, are in

* April 26, 1910.

Boston. The 189 city and town almshouses had 10,000 inmates during the year. The annual cost of all paupers, State and town, in Massachusetts increased for the ten years preceding 1909 from $2,339,000 to $5,806,000."

An English writer, William Archer, tells us in "America To-day," that New York contains some of the very worst slums in the world. "That melancholy distinction must be conceded her." This New York slum population he considers "the most heterogeneous, polyglot, and in some respects ignorant and degraded ever assembled in a single city, since the days of Imperial Rome." Writing of the slums of Chicago, Mr. Archer says that if not quite so tightly packed as those of New York or London, they "are no whit behind them in the other essentials of civilised barbarism. Chicago, more than any other city of my acquaintance, suggests that antique conception of the underworld which placed Elysium and Tartarus not only on the same plane, but, so to speak, round the corner from each other."

A friendly German critic of American institutions and people, Professor Münsterberg of Harvard University, states in "The Americans" that "the unspeakable misery in the slums of New York and Chicago, in which the lowest immigrants from Eastern Europe have herded themselves together and form a nucleus for all the worst reprobates of the country, is an outcome of recent years and appeals loudly to the

conscience of the nation. On the other side, the fatuous extravagance of millionaires threatens to poison the national sense of thrift and economy."

Writing in "America the Land of Contrasts," in 1898, Mr. James F. Muirhead also observed this tendency. He says: "The contrasts between the poverty and wealth of New York are so extreme as sometimes to suggest even London, where misery and prosperity rub shoulders in a more heartrending way than, perhaps, anywhere else in the wide world. New York possesses some of the most sumptuous private residences in the world, often adorned in part with exquisite carvings in stone, such as Europeans have sometimes furnished for a cathedral or minster, but which it has been reserved for republican simplicity to apply to the residence of a private citizen."

And this startling situation—this alarming increase in poverty and doling out of charity—has come about, too, in the face of an enormous —an almost inconceivable—increase in wealth. The total wealth of the United States increased more than $42,067,000,000 in the fourteen years preceding 1904, according to the report of the United States census. That is, the estimated true value of all property in this country increased from $65,037,000,000 to $107,104,000,000. In 1850 it was only $7,138,000,000.

Wealth and Poverty going hand in hand! If wealth means the banishment of poverty,

How is it that with this great increase in wealth there has gone a startling increase, instead of a decrease, in poverty?

Is not the demand of our industrial state for cheap labour exactly the same as that made at one time by our agricultural state as represented in the old plantation system of the South? Is not this a demand for labour with a low standard of living—a demand that places no premium or value upon intelligence or citizenship or civilisation but seeks only strength and docility? Are we not to-day building upon a sodden mass of exploited immigrants an idle leisure class that is manifesting many of the attributes and qualities that foretell danger to the Republic? Is a system that gives to us a leisure class based upon the industrial servitude of immigrant races toiling for a low wage any better for American democracy and republican institutions than the one that gave to us the leisure class of the South in the time of negro slavery?

"Apparently no scheme for the rapid creation and accumulation of wealth promised better than that of raising tobacco, rice, cotton, and sugar in our Southern States by African slaves, in whom was found the rare combination of great bodily vigour with a docility which made it practicable to obtain their labour at the cost of the coarsest subsistence. The scheme failed in practice."

Apparently no scheme for the rapid creation

and accumulation of wealth promises better than that of producing steel, coal, iron, clothing, and so on, in our industrial and manufacturing states by illiterate European immigrants, in whom is found the rare combination of great bodily vigour with a docility which makes it practicable to obtain their labour at the cost of the coarsest subsistence. Is this scheme also doomed to failure in practice?

In our self-satisfied contemplation of the greatness of our country we assume that the United States takes in the oppressed and persecuted immigrant and offers him freely of its abundance, and we point with pride to the worldly success of the few that are brought to our notice. It is well for us occasionally to see what others see as to this thing that we are doing to this immigrant man.

Mr. Wells, in "The Future in America," gives us this view. He says: "At present, if we disregard sentiment, if we deny the alleged need of gross flattery whenever one writes of America for Americans, and state the bare facts of the case, they amount to this: That America, in the urgent process of individualistic industrial development, in its feverish haste to get through with its material possibilities, is importing a large portion of the peasantry of central and eastern Europe, and converting it into a practically illiterate industrial proletariat. In doing this it is doing a something that, however different in spirit, differs from the slave

trade of its early history only in the narrower gap between employer and labourer. In the 'coloured' population America has already ten million descendants of unassimilated and perhaps unassimilable labour immigrants. . . . And I have a foreboding that in this mixed flood of workers that pours into America by the million to-day, in this torrent of ignorance, against which that heroic being, the schoolmarm, battles at present all unaided by men, there is to be found the possibility of another dreadful separation of class and kind, a separation perhaps not so profound but far more universal. One sees the possibility of a rich industrial and mercantile aristocracy of western European origin, dominating a darker-haired, darker-eyed, uneducated proletariat from central and eastern Europe. . . . That is the quality of the danger as I see it."

Here is a view of our economic conditions and tendencies that we cannot afford to ignore. It seems to Mr. Wells that in the United States there is going on the same economic process, only on a much grander scale, that has brought Great Britain to its present deplorable condition. He says: "There is a great concentration of wealth above, and below, deep and growing is the abyss, that sunken multitude on the margin of subsistence which is a characteristic and necessary feature of competitive industrialism, that teeming abyss where children have no chance, where men and women

dream neither of leisure nor of self-respect." It is the *size* of this abyss beneath that must be our concern.

"It seems to me," Mr. Wells says further, "that the immigrant arrives an artless, rather uncivilised, pious, good-hearted peasant, with a disposition towards submissive industry and rude effectual moral habits. America, it is alleged, makes a man of him. It seems to me that all too often she makes an infuriated toiler of him, tempts him with dollars and speeds him up with competition, hardens him, coarsens his manners, and, worst crime of all, lures him and forces him to sell his children into toil. The home of the immigrant in America looks to me worse than the home he came from in Italy. It is just as dirty, it is far less simple and beautiful, the food is no more wholesome, the moral atmosphere far less wholesome; and, as a consequence, the child of the immigrant is a worse man than his father."

Mr. Wells is a commentator of no slight penetration. He has eyes that see clearly into the intricacy and complexity of our industrial conditions, and in his word-pictures he is able graphically to present to us what he sees,—as graphically as the photograph reproduces an object. This tremendous inpouring of foreign races and nationalities fills him with dire foreboding. Undisciplined hordes from southern and eastern Europe have grown so large in

number that they have submerged the stream of disciplined races until recently coming to us in large numbers from northern and western Europe. Referring to us as a nation "struggling with indigestion" he sees a "dark shadow of disastrous possibility. The immigrant comes in to weaken and confuse the counsels of labour, to serve the purpose of corruption, to complicate any economic and social development, above all to retard the development of that national consciousness and will on which the hope of the future depends."

The silver lining to this dark prospect, Mr. Wells indicates, lies in the possibility of our suddenly rousing ourselves to heroic educational efforts that may lift these peasant armies into disciplined and efficient citizens of the republic—efforts that might make us safe from this vast invasion.

Here then is the picture which this stranger peeping in at our lamp-lit window sees spread out before him in the American national home. He does not see a happy family. He sees some few of its numbers enormously rich, a larger and an ever-growing number extremely poor and in poverty. More important than the present conditions that he sees, however, are the tendencies which he observes to be at work inside our American home. He says: "The fact that a growing proportion of the wealth of the community is passing into the hands of a small minority of successful getters, is

masked to superficial observation by the enormous increase of the total wealth. The growth process overrides the economic process and may continue to do so for many years." He sees a constantly swelling flood of prosperity pouring through and over and passing by the great mass of the people without changing or enriching them at all. This is true, he says, because some rise in prices; an advance in coal and beef, for example, or higher rents, all of which go to a small class, swallow up the increase in wealth, leaving behind higher prices for the great mass of the people but bringing no increase in salaries or wages with which to meet these higher prices.

CHAPTER XI

PRESENT-DAY IMMIGRATION

If present-day immigration were the result of personal initiative and voluntary action on the part of the immigrant, the United States would not now be receiving so large a volume. Upon this there is virtually a unanimity of agreement among the authorities on the subject.

It is believed by Professor Commons, for instance, that if it had been left to the initiative of the immigrants themselves "the flow of immigration to America could scarcely ever have reached one-half its actual dimensions." He is of the opinion that the desire to make a profit upon the immigrants, to get cheap labour, and to sell land have probably brought more to the United States than the hard conditions of Europe, Asia, and Africa have sent. He says that the induced immigration has been as potent as voluntary immigration and that it is to this "mercenary motive that we owe our manifold variety of races, and especially our influx of backward races."* The efforts of large employers of labour and shipowners to attract and bring them have been a most potent factor in flooding the domestic labour market with an oversupply of low-wage workers.

* Commons: "Races and Immigrants in America."

"It would be difficult to state any one particular reason," says Consul Diedrich, "why these plain, poor, hardworking people from the plains of Russia and the hills and valleys of Austria, should leave their fatherlands, their humble homes, their friends, and the traditions of their forefathers and scramble for passage on a steamer bound for a far-off, strange country. It cannot be that their home country is overcrowded, for the majority of them crowd into our cities. Undoubtedly in some cases they leave because they love peace and resent forced military service. Again, others forsake their old homes impelled by the love of freedom, and by the sturdy independence of their nature they seek a new home whose public institutions are more congenial. But of such idealists there are probably very few indeed. The vast majority go because our country is known to them as the land of promise, the land of opportunities greater than any their country can offer. The great discontent among the labouring classes of Europe, stimulated by rumours of great prosperity in the United States, is the prime cause of this wonderful exodus." *

It cannot be too often emphasised that while the Italian as well as the Slavic races leave their European homes because of extreme poverty they come here primarily to secure higher wages. In the special consular reports on

* Special Consular Reports, Emigration to the United States, Department of Commerce and Labour.

emigration to the United States, made to the Department of Commerce and Labour in 1904, there was virtual unanimity as to the prospects of higher wages here being the prevailing cause of immigration from all the European countries.

Neither the desire for freedom of conscience in religious matters, nor the longing for civil and political liberty, nor the ambition to secure educational advantages, are uppermost as moving causes in the immigration of the present day. It is fundamentally economic. Prospective immigrants are generally well informed by foremen, contractor agents, representatives of steamship companies, and friends in the United States as to the chances of obtaining work. The chief reason for the immigration from northern Austria, for instance, according to the United States Consular Reports for 1904, "is that every workman who goes to the United States and finds work becomes an advertising agent among his circle of relatives and friends left behind. In most cases representations of conditions in America prove irresistibly attractive." In fact, there have grown up in the United States with branches in Europe agencies that advance money or transportation to persons emigrating who agree to work for them. These agents have contracts to supply labour to individuals and firms engaged in large railroad and other construction work such as public buildings,

FOREIGN BORN IN 1910 BY LEADING COUNTRIES

This diagram presents graphically the statistics of the foreign born in 1910 arranged according to the more important countries giving the older and newer immigration. One can see at a glance not only the total foreign born here from any one country, such as Germany, but also its relation in volume to the contributions from the other countries, older as well as newer. The upper bars represent the foreign born here from the northwestern European countries sending the older immigration, and the lower or solid black bars those from the eastern and southern European districts. Germany's contribution through immigration for the past sixty years and more resulted by 1910 in a total foreign born exceeding 2,500,000. This represents those remaining who came here in the fifties and sixties as well as during the last decade. By far the larger number, of course, comprise the German immigrants who came the past thirty years. Compared with Ireland, which of the older immigrant countries contributed the second largest number, Germany had more by about 1,150,000; it had an excess of 770,000 compared with Russia, the country which, of the newer immigrant countries, contributed the largest number. In a similar manner the remaining countries can be compared with one another.

THE OLDER AND NEWER FOREIGN BORN

reservoirs, and the like. Out of the wages of the immigrant after his arrival is refunded to the agent the amount he advances. These agencies or banking institutions ship the immigrants from European ports, guaranteeing them work at stipulated wages for a period of six months or more after their arrival in this country.

The reasons for the enormous increase in immigration from southern and southeastern Europe are to be found in the fact, says the 1910 report of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, that " It is, to a very large extent, induced, stimulated, artificial immigration; and hand in hand with it (as a part, indeed, of the machinations of the promoters, steerers, runners, sub-agents, and usurers, more or less directly connected with steamship lines, the great beneficiaries of large immigration) run plans for the exploitation of the ignorant classes which often result in placing upon our shores large numbers of aliens, who, if the facts were only known at the time, are worse than destitute, are burdened with obligations to which they and all their relatives are parties, debts secured with mortgages on such small holdings as they and their relatives possess, and on which usurious interest must be paid. Pitiable indeed is their condition, and pitiable it must remain unless good fortune accompanies the alien while he is struggling to exist and is denying himself the necessaries of decent living

in order to clear himself of the incubus of accumulated debt."

While the poor conditions, political and social, of their native countries, the natural desire to better their condition, and the wish for liberty of thought and conscience, partially explain the increasing immigration of Slavic and Iberic peoples, says the report, still "these do not afford what is believed to be the principal, the underlying explanation. The truth of the matter is that the peasants of the countries mentioned have for a number of years supplied a rich harvest to the promoters of immigration. This promoter is usually a steamship agent, employed on a commission basis, or a professional money-lender, or a combination of the two. His only interest is the wholly selfish one of gaining his commission and collecting his usury. He is employed by the steamship lines, large and small, without scruple, and to the enormous profit of such lines. The more aliens they bring over the more there are to be carried back if failure meets the tentative immigrant, and the more are likely to follow later if success is his lot. Whatever the outcome, it is a good commercial proposition for the steamship line. To say that the steamship lines are responsible, directly or indirectly, for this unnatural immigration, is not the statement of a theory, but of a fact, and of a fact that sometimes becomes, indeed, if it is not always, a crying shame."

Some of the ways in which this artificial immigration is induced, solicited, or stimulated are mentioned in the report. These are " solicitation in Europe by steamship companies anxious to increase in every way their third-class passenger business, intimation by employers in this country to their foreign-born employés that the latter's compatriots and relatives would be welcomed as additions to their labour force, and the constant correspondence going on between the alien residents of the United States and their relatives and friends abroad, through which a knowledge (sometimes accurate, but often inaccurate) of economic conditions here is disseminated throughout Europe."

The extension of steamship lines from Ireland and England first swept the ports of western Europe from Portugal on the south to Norway and Sweden on the north, including also Spain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Denmark. Later their extension to Baltic Sea ports opened Finland and Russia to the emigration of Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, and Russians. Italy was the first of the Mediterranean countries to be tapped by the steamship lines. Entrance was gained to Austria-Hungary through the Adriatic Sea, and thus egress given to the Southern Slavs. Greece came next into the area of the steamship net, and was opened to emigration by the establishing of ports of embarkation in the Ægean Sea. In recent years these lines have gained entrance

into the Black Sea, giving an opening to the emigration of other Slavic races of southern Russia along with Armenians, Turks, Roumanians, and so on.

The Cunard Company established a line of transatlantic steamers about 1839. In 1845 the government of the United States subsidised an ocean steamship line from New York to Havre and Bremen, and later another line from New York to Liverpool. The Hamburg-American line came into existence in 1847. Between 1840 and 1860 ocean steamship transportation across the Atlantic showed remarkable increase and development. This is even more true of the following twenty years, especially as to greater speed and safety, lower fares, better accommodations, the outlawing of many of the horrors of the steerage, and much improved landing arrangements.

The facilities which these statements indicate were developing were almost instantly taken advantage of in the forties by the English, Irish, Scotch, German, and French emigrants. The twenty years from 1840 show that Great Britain increased its emigration nearly five hundred per cent over that of the preceding twenty years; Germany by over six hundred per cent; and even France by one hundred and fifty per cent. It is not meant by this that the development in transportation facilities was solely responsible for this large increase in immigration, because other causes, such as famines

in Ireland and Germany, were also at work. But without this growth and expansion the increased immigration could not have been possible.

Quite probably one important reason why emigration from Germany did not find its way to the United States as early as that from the United Kingdom lies in the fact that there were not the same facilities of transportation between Germany and this country. Much of our early German immigration came by way of England. But immediately upon the extension of steamship navigation to German ports immigration rapidly assumed almost gigantic dimensions. In the early fifties there were no direct ocean steamers between Swedish and American ports, no emigration agents in that country, and in consequence immigration to the United States from Sweden at that time was slight. Again, in the first year of the establishment of direct sailings from Rotterdam to the United States in 1872 by the Netherlands-American Steam Navigation Company the number of immigrants to this country sailing from that port was 181; nine years later it exceeded sixteen thousand.

As the years have gone by the movement has gradually been extended to the north and east of Europe—to Scandinavia, Poland, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and now to the Balkan Peninsula—as the steamship lines opened new sailing ports.

The effect upon emigration of this opening

of new ports and the establishing of increased transportation facilities is strikingly illustrated in the case of Italy. Consul-General Alden, reporting from Rome to the State Department in 1886, said: "The steamers of the Italian General Navigation Company, known as the 'Florio-Rubattino' steamers, now plying direct between Italian ports and New York, have also influenced considerably in increasing the number of emigrants, especially from the southern portion of the Kingdom. A proof of this may be found in the increased number of emigrants to the United States directly following the establishment of this line in 1879." * With only one line sailing from Naples in 1881 the largest emigration was 1,160 in March of that year; in August a French line entered into competition and by October the number of emigrants exceeded two thousand; by March of the following year an Italian line had been established in competition with both the English and French, and in that month the number of emigrants from Naples was nearly five thousand. Prior to 1876 eighty per cent of Italian emigration was to other parts of Europe, especially France; the United States was receiving less than one per cent. Ten years later less than fifty per cent of the largely increased Italian emigration was to other parts of Europe while to the Americas came more than

* United States Consular Reports: Emigration and Immigration.

forty-six per cent. Most of this immigration first came from the vicinity of the ports thus opened by the steamship companies, later spreading to other parts of Italy.

Competition of steamship companies for steerage passengers had an effect upon districts far removed from the ports of embarkation. For instance, emigration from Switzerland in the eighties was considerably facilitated by the competition of French, Belgian, and English companies. This led to their offering inducements which tended to diminish any anxieties that the emigrants might have in regard to the difficulties of going so far from home. Trains with special cars, with comfortable arrangements for the care of children and the procuring of food, and with other means for overcoming the difficulties of the journey, left Basle direct for the embarking ports of Havre and Antwerp.

And in passing it is important to note that during all this time heretofore isolated districts, in all the European countries, containing large populations were being made accessible by the construction of railroads. The emigrants were accompanied on the trains by employés of the steamship companies; upon the arrival of the immigrants in the United States other representatives of the companies met them. In Switzerland at one time there were as many as three hundred and seventy emigration agents of steamship companies. This com-

petition between the companies and between their agents thus brought about increased exertion, especially on the part of the lines from Havre to Antwerp, to secure passengers, and their spreading of a knowledge of the conditions offered by the United States tended to increase emigration. Somewhat the same thing was repeated in other countries.

Among the factors in this connection that increased the volume of immigration as its sources spread over the greater part of both northwestern and eastern and southern Europe have been the increase in the size of the steamships, the lowering of rates, and the rapid decrease from weeks to days in the time of passage. All of these have tended to narrow the Atlantic to little more, figuratively, than a wide river and, as has been said, to make the huge steamships mere ferry-boats. Persons born in Hungary or Italy or any far eastern European country can now come to the United States at less cost and in less time than they can make a journey of much shorter distance in their own country. The conveniences, too, are better and the comfort of travel greater.

In view of all this the easiest and most sensible plan for any effective control or restriction of immigration by the United States government is one that aims to regulate through legislation this particular business of the steamship lines.

The extremely close relation which the de-

velopment of ocean transportation has brought about between European countries and the United States has made the masses of Europe peculiarly sensitive to the economic and especially the industrial conditions in this country. It has in particular affected, and continues to affect even more strikingly to-day than formerly, the volume of our immigration. At the present time immigration reflects, almost with the accuracy of a barometer, the rise and fall in our industrial prosperity. If one knew nothing at all about our panics and periods of depression he would be able to tell the years of their occurrence and the length of time their effects continued merely by studying closely the statistics of immigration. This is also true as to the periods of prosperity. These statements are much more true to-day than in years past.

The movement out of Europe with its peopling of the United States has very appropriately been likened to the ebb and flow of the tide—it came at intervals like a great wave, now and then receding, only to regain renewed volume later on. Its ebb has accompanied business depression in this country, while its flow in renewed volume has marked the return of prosperous times.

In the thirties the number of immigrants rose from twenty-three thousand in 1831 to seventy-nine thousand six years later. In 1837 a panic, hard times, and general business depres-

sion reduced immigration the following year to thirty-nine thousand. The crest of another wave is observable four years later when there was recorded more than one hundred thousand foreign arrivals. Once again the wave receded following financial disturbance. In 1847 began the greatest wave the country had seen so far. It reached its climax at the time of "The Exodus" from the United Kingdom and the Continent, until by 1849 the number of immigrants annually arriving fell only a few thousand short of three hundred thousand. This wave took a longer time in receding than had any of the others; from an immigration of less than fifty-three thousand in 1843 the number of arrivals rose steadily each year to nearly 428,000 in 1854, in the next year dropping sharply to about two hundred thousand. This rapid decline encountered the panic of 1857, which facilitated the tendency and checked immigration. Later there were indications that another great immigration movement was impending, but it was checked by the Civil War.

Starting with seventy-two thousand in 1862 immigration rose in the following eleven years to nearly 460,000; in 1873 it began to decline, until by 1878 less than one hundred and thirty-nine thousand came. This was because there was precipitated upon the country in 1873 one of the worst financial panics it had ever experienced. Immediately, as heretofore under somewhat similar conditions, the inflow of im-

migrants from Europe was suddenly checked and for nearly seven years was kept at a minimum. Within the next few years, by 1882, the effects of the 1873 panic had passed away, so that immigration rose rapidly to nearly 789,000. The industrial depression of 1892 caused immigration to decline from 580,000 in that year to as low as 229,000 in 1898, the smallest yearly immigration since 1879. But following 1898 came a period of great prosperity, during which immigration rose to the very highest point it had ever reached in its history—to more than 1,285,000 arrivals in the single year 1907. In October came another panic and ensuing industrial depression, and immigration dropped within a year to less than 783,000. But even this number lacked only six thousand of being as large as the largest yearly immigration before 1903.

This close relation of immigration and periods of business depression is graphically presented for the years since 1860 in the diagram opposite page 214. The first serious panic recorded is that of 1873, and its effects upon decreasing the immigration are plainly indicated by the marked falling off in the number of alien arrivals during the several years following. So also with the periods of years following the industrial depressions beginning in 1892 and 1907.

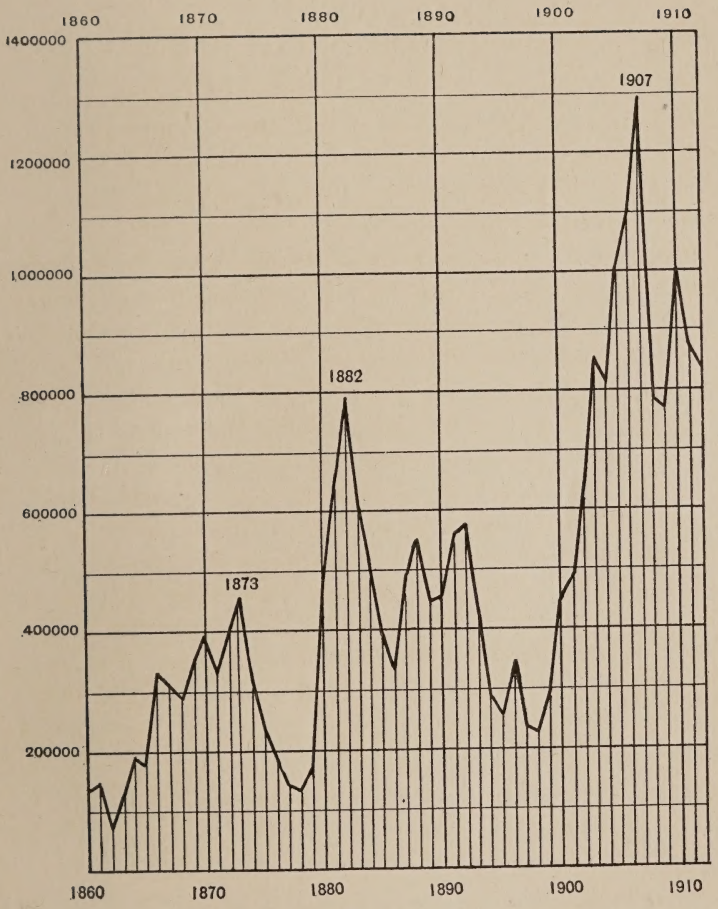
The very first effect upon immigration of a financial panic here has been to check its inflow

within the following year. It does not affect the stream to any considerable extent for that year; in fact, curious as it may seem at first thought, a "panic year" usually marks the flood-tide of immigration. This is explained in the fact that many had already left their European homes and were on their way to this country when the panic was precipitated. These and others who had made their plans for emigrating were not affected by the adverse conditions, and their arrival here is thus recorded in the panic year.

So far the discussion has been confined to the effect of panics upon immigration. From this viewpoint the facts are numerous and the evidence indisputable and clear. But this is not the case when the effect of immigration upon panics is considered. This aspect of this economic phenomenon has been almost entirely ignored by students of the problem, so much so that there is great need of a thorough and painstaking study of it. That immigration is a contributing cause of panics—that it has an effect of more or less significance in producing them—there is no question. But until we have more indisputable facts and some penetrating researches into the intricacies of the economic factors at work, we cannot assign to immigration its proper place or give to it the emphasis it deserves among the forces bringing about these periodic industrial depressions. While the diagram opposite is intended to illustrate

PANICS OR "BAD TIMES" AND IMMIGRATION

This diagram shows the total volume of immigration to the United States each year from 1860 to 1912 and the effects upon it of financial panics or industrial depressions. The figures on the left represent number of immigrants. In 1860 immigration was less than 150,000; in 1912 it was about 850,000. The year 1907 records the largest annual inflow in the history of the country, the number of immigrants in that year reaching almost to the 1,300,000 mark. The effects of the panic years 1873, 1882, 1892, and 1907 in diminishing the volume are clearly indicated. Note the "wave" effect of the line gauging the fluctuations in the yearly inflow. This diagram can also be studied from the point of view of the effects of prosperity or "good times" upon immigration, each recurring industrial revival being accompanied by a rapid and in cases a striking rise in the wave line, thus marking an increase in the number of arriving aliens. In the text discussion of this diagram the question is also raised as to the effects of immigration as a contributing cause of financial panics and industrial depressions.



PANICS AND IMMIGRATION

primarily the effects of panics upon immigration, it can also be studied from the point of view of the effects of immigration upon panics. Should not at least as much emphasis be placed upon the fact, clearly shown in the diagram, that financial panics and business depression invariably follow periods of large immigration, as upon the equally plain fact that decreased immigration always follows panics? While this question as to the effects of immigration upon industrial depressions must be left for further study, there is no such uncertainty about the characteristic effect of panics in the past upon migration into the western states.

Immigration from Europe and migration from the Atlantic states to the West have taken place at alternate periods. Immigration from Europe has come during what we might call "good times"; migration to the West has been most conspicuous during the periods of "bad times." The movement of population from Europe was rapid in good times and slow in bad times. The movement of population westward was just the reverse—it was slow in good times and rapid in bad times. The waves of population that good times washed upon our shores were taken up by the forces behind our bad times and carried beyond the Alleghenies. Thus the West was settled by waves of population set in motion by well determined economic forces. Each financial panic or industrial depression sent the population of the East into

the West, vacating places which the immigrants of the succeeding good time period filled up.

But since the late eighties this is no longer true. The West is not to-day the great safety-valve to the nation's social unrest and industrial discontent. This is a very significant fact; it describes a situation that is of the greatest importance in any comprehensive view of the future of immigration.

To-day, instead of bad times sending the immigrants out West to settle on land and become a permanent part of our population, they force them by the hundreds of thousands back to their European homes, where they have sent their savings and where they remain until another period of prosperity again causes them to swarm to our shores. This is because there is no longer any land out West within the present immigrant's means to purchase, and because the development of ocean transportation has made it cheaper for him to return to Europe. Also for the reason that he has become more of an industrial worker than he has a farmer or farm labourer.

This emigration to Europe in times of industrial prostration has become a conspicuous phase of our immigration movement. It first became noticeable in the panic of the early nineties; it was a more striking phenomenon in the panic of 1907. There were months following that year when a larger number left the country than came into it. For weeks every steer-

age accommodation in every outgoing vessel was crowded, and thousands swarmed into New York City waiting a chance to secure passage to Europe.

It should be noted that those returning to Europe are the more fortunate ones who, while employed, have been able to save from their earnings sufficient to pay for their return passage and who also usually have a savings fund in Europe with which to take care of themselves and families. Work at home either for themselves or others also generally awaits them. But the less fortunate thousands, like the débris along the shore cast up by the receding ocean wave, are left here stranded, to compete with the native worker for the limited opportunities for employment. Naturally they add to our pauperism and increase the poverty, filling our almshouses and like dependent institutions. These facts were conspicuous features of unemployment in New York following the 1907 panic. As many as two hundred thousand members of organised labour in that single state were idle for months at a time. There was no record of unemployment of the unskilled immigrant labour but it was so large as to cause great uneasiness in the minds of those familiar with the situation.

It can be enunciated as a law of present-day immigration that it depends upon and is determined by the industrial prosperity of and the facilities for reaching the country receiving the

immigrants. It does not depend so much upon adverse conditions within the country sending out the emigrants. Both the emigration statistics of any particular country and those of immigration and emigration for the United States prove this conclusively. Nearly every report upon emigration from Europe made by the United States consuls substantiates this statement.

CHAPTER XII

THE FUTURE OF IMMIGRATION—THE OLD

THE causes giving to the United States, during the past ninety years, more than twenty-eight million immigrants and a present foreign-born population exceeding thirteen million have already been discussed. Of all these by far the most dominant and conspicuous at work at the present time are the better opportunities here for industrial workers. Our higher wage is the magnet that draws them to this country. This is as true of those coming from the older as well as from the newer immigrant countries.

What are the economic tendencies now discernible that are to influence the movement in the future? Will the United States continue to receive for the next decade or two as large a volume of immigrants as the eight million and more that came to us the past ten years? Our inquiry will first concern itself with the economic tendencies affecting the older immigrant countries.

With the exception of Ireland and France, and possibly Norway, all the others—England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark—have rapidly growing populations constantly pressing upon

limited land areas. In each the birth rate exceeds the death rate, giving yearly an increase in population. Great Britain adds nearly four million to its population about every ten years. The irresistible pressure of this increasing population, says United States Consul Hale, is both the cause of British emigration and the factor that determines its character. Germany has doubled its population about every forty-seven years. In Denmark the birth rate is also far in advance of the death rate, and the country is already over-crowded. Sweden shows an excess of births over deaths of more than seven per cent.

Whether these increases become a surplus or an excess depends upon many factors, but the probability will be, as has been the case in the past, that over-population is to be a constant menace to all these countries. But this does not necessarily mean emigration from them to the United States.

In the case of the United Kingdom (excluding Ireland) its surplus population is now being consciously directed to the British colonies, especially to Canada. In the first place, it can be said that the British government gives a kind of benevolent encouragement to emigrants who go to the colonies. Assisted also by a well directed public sentiment favouring "imperial federation," this emigration has noticeably and effectively been diverted from the United States. In cases the colonial governments ex-

tend pecuniary assistance along with other inducements to British immigrants.

Following a debate in the House of Lords in 1884 on the subject of emigration to Canada, there was formed "a national association for promoting state-directed colonisation," under high patronage and with an influential executive committee. Its aim is the coöperation of the home government with the efforts of the colonies, among the means proposed being state advances of money to found extensive colonies. Out of this has grown the "Emigrant's Information Office" in London, through which bureau has been commenced the first systematic attempt ever made under the sanction and with the aid of the British government to afford persons desirous of emigrating to the colonies such information as would be useful to them. This agency encourages emigration to Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and other British colonies. There have also sprung into existence throughout the empire important private organisations, mostly philanthropic and charitable, with somewhat similar aims. One, a little more ambitious than the others, is the Somersetshire and Bristol Colonial Emigration Society, "formed to assist poor people of good character of all religious denominations, who are desirous of leaving Great Britain to proceed to other parts of the British Empire."

In Scotland intending settlers for South African colonies have in recent years been as-

sisted by the British government. Among the Scotch also the colonial governments, and especially Canada, have been putting forth efforts to secure the emigrants, the Dominion government using successfully newspaper advertising, the circulation of printed matter, canvassing agents, and farmer delegates.

All these efforts beginning in the early eighties have undoubtedly had an effect in decreasing British immigration to the United States the past thirty years, especially that of the agricultural classes, which before 1880 had been coming largely to this country. It was in the eighties that Canada first put forth special efforts to secure agriculturists, farm labourers, and female domestic servants.

An illustration of this diversion of British emigrants from the United States to Canada, for instance, is found in the fact that for the ten years preceding 1900, of the total of 726,000 emigrants from Great Britain, as many as 520,000, or seventy-two per cent, came to the United States and only ninety thousand, or thirteen per cent, to British North America. Since then fifty per cent more British immigrants have entered Canada than in the preceding decade. The statistics of English immigration to the United States show that not quite half as many arrived between 1900 and 1910 as came during the ten years preceding 1890. The decade just ended saw the smallest British immigration to the United States of any ten-

year period since this immigration became of importance.

The conclusion then is that, for the next decade at least, the economic forces that are to control emigration from the United Kingdom will direct it to Canada and other British colonies rather than to the United States.

A paragraph must be given to Ireland separately because the economic forces at work there are strikingly different from those in other parts of the United Kingdom. We have seen that Irish immigration to the United States has become of considerably less importance in recent decades—it averages only about one-sixth of what it was during the decade following 1847. Those coming from Ireland in the ten years just closed made the smallest decennial Irish immigration since 1840—they amounted to much less than one-half of those coming between 1850 and 1860. There are to-day, as has already been pointed out, a less number of foreign-born Irish in the United States than in 1860. The great Irish immigration was in the forties and fifties when as many as 1,529,000 came in twenty years and when Ireland had a population exceeding eight million. To-day this has declined to almost one-half—in 1910 Ireland's population did not reach 4,500,000. Besides this enormous falling off in population which tends to decrease emigration from the Emerald Isle, the economic condition of the agricultural classes has improved from a state

of periodic famines. There have also come about much better political conditions, the burdens of British government resting less heavily. In consequence of these facts the leaders of the Irish people have changed their point of view from that of establishing a new Ireland in the United States to that of securing "home rule" for the Irish in Ireland.

Thus emigration from Ireland begins to be deplored, especially as the pressure from overpopulation has been relieved by the decrease in numbers. It is seen to-day much more plainly than heretofore that the emigration of the best elements in the population means a lower marriage rate, a much lower birth rate, and consequent depopulation, besides being an economic loss when people are raised for what virtually amounts to exportation. These and other considerations have caused the Irish people to look more unfavourably or with less favour upon emigration to-day than in years past. An anti-emigration society has even been started with headquarters in Dublin, and it is actively working to stem the outflow. It has the support of many of the bishops and priests of the country as well as of prominent members of Parliament. Public opinion and the general tone of the press also have grown hostile to emigration, and efforts to discourage it are noticeable.

Our conclusion in regard to future immigration to the United States from Ireland, although based upon a different argument as

regards that from England, Scotland, and Wales, is that it will not likely increase, but on the contrary, will continue to decrease.

Although the decline in Scandinavian immigration is less marked than that from the United Kingdom and Germany, partly because it is a later immigration, at the same time we have clearly evident indications that it also has already reached its height and is relatively decreasing. It has averaged nearly sixteen thousand less each year from 1900 to 1910 than from 1880 to 1890. Norway alone showed an increase in the former as compared with the latter decade.

The dominant cause of the Scandinavian immigration of the past, more so probably than that from any other section of Europe with the possible exception of Germany, was unquestionably the great opportunity the United States offered down to the late eighties for the immigrant to secure agricultural land almost for the asking. This is no longer the case. The best land here has been settled, and the price of the poorer land has increased beyond the means of most of the immigrants. As has been said, the recent immigration from those countries is also more largely from the industrial as distinct from the agricultural classes. Besides these conditions operating in this country to decrease Scandinavian immigration, forces having a similar tendency are at work in those European countries.

Sweden, for instance, is in the process of passing from an agricultural to an industrial nation and this is nearly always accompanied by a scarcity of labour, which has already begun to be felt in Sweden. This development is thus drawing its rural labourers into industry and the cities, which keeps wages of farm labourers comparatively high and tends to check emigration. Also, the economic condition of the Swedish farmer and farm labourer to-day compares favourably with that of a similar class in any other European country. In consequence, emigration from the rural districts in Sweden has diminished considerably in late years. The Swedish government has begun to regard emigration with regret and thus the tendency is to discourage it. Young men under age must have permission to leave the country if they have not fulfilled their military duty.

Somewhat the same general statements apply to the conditions in Norway. Our diminishing cheap land and growth of industries have joined with other factors to change our Norwegian immigration from agricultural peasants to artisans comprising principally blacksmiths, joiners, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, painters, masons, mechanics, and so on. But they cannot successfully compete here for jobs with the Slav and Italian. Norway not only has a less population than either Sweden or Denmark, but it has also increased less rapidly. To-day it totals 2,250,000. In the eighties Norway was

supplying an immigration to the United States larger than that from any other country, considered in proportion to its population. It was such as to give an actual decrease of four thousand in the total population of Norway in 1882 and to cause serious alarm to the Norwegian government. In consequence the officials do not now favour emigration; the proposition has even been suggested that a tax be placed on every person emigrating. Men of an age subjecting them to military duty must have permission to leave the country; if one enrolled leaves without such permission he becomes criminally liable. The newspapers of Norway and the so-called higher classes are almost unanimously opposed to emigration.

While the government of Denmark has officially assumed no outward position of hostility towards emigration and does not require those who leave to secure permission, nevertheless the decline in Danish immigration to the United States is partly if not largely due to governmental action. Because of the comparatively large number that was emigrating in the eighties and nineties the Danish government found it compulsory to give special attention to the economic condition of its farming population. From an intolerable condition the Danish peasantry has been raised to a high state of advancement in the development of their land and the organisation of the sale and distribution of its products. For this, rural education is largely

responsible; credit is also due the organised co-operative methods of the farmers, such as the conduct of dairies, of bacon factories, and the marketing of eggs. This movement among the Danish peasant-farmers, which had its origin some time in the eighties, has made their products famous over many parts of Europe and, most important of all, it has tended toward a wider distribution of wealth. The result has been to make the farmer of Denmark among the most prosperous in all Europe; it has tended largely to reduce emigration.

In all this the peasant-farmer has been materially assisted indirectly and in innumerable ways by the Danish government. It has provided special and suitable train service and has subsidised steamers to bring about greater expedition and more favourable conditions in connection with the export of farm produce. Agricultural laws have been passed to assist the farmers in improving the breed of various domestic animals; annual grants to agricultural and high schools have been made; and encouragement has been given to peasants who own only a few acres of land, this being intended primarily to assist the agricultural labourer. All these as well as other tendencies have brought about a wider distribution of land and prosperity among the Danish people. Governmental activity has also actually caused an increase in the area of Denmark through the reclamation of moors and bogs into forest, field,

and meadow, thus adding acres of good land to the country's limited number of square miles. Also a governmental old age pension act is in operation. In consequence of all this, the Danish peasant is much more comfortable and prosperous than he was in the eighties and inducements to leave his home country are not now so alluring.

Thus, in all probability, economic influences will not give to the United States any increase in Scandinavian immigration for the next decade; on the contrary it will very likely decline. Such surplus population as there was in those countries when the outflow began following our Civil War has already been drained off. America no longer holds out to these countries the free land inducements of the seventies and eighties. All that is likely to come hereafter will be merely the natural excess for whom there is no opportunity in their respective countries.

But what about Germany, that Teutonic nation which has doubled its population every forty-seven years and which has already given to the United States a larger number of foreign born than any other country? Will German immigration to the United States continue?

There is in this country to-day a less number of foreign born from Germany than there was in 1900. German immigration to the United States for the decade ending in 1910 amounted to less than 342,000; from 1880 to 1890 it had

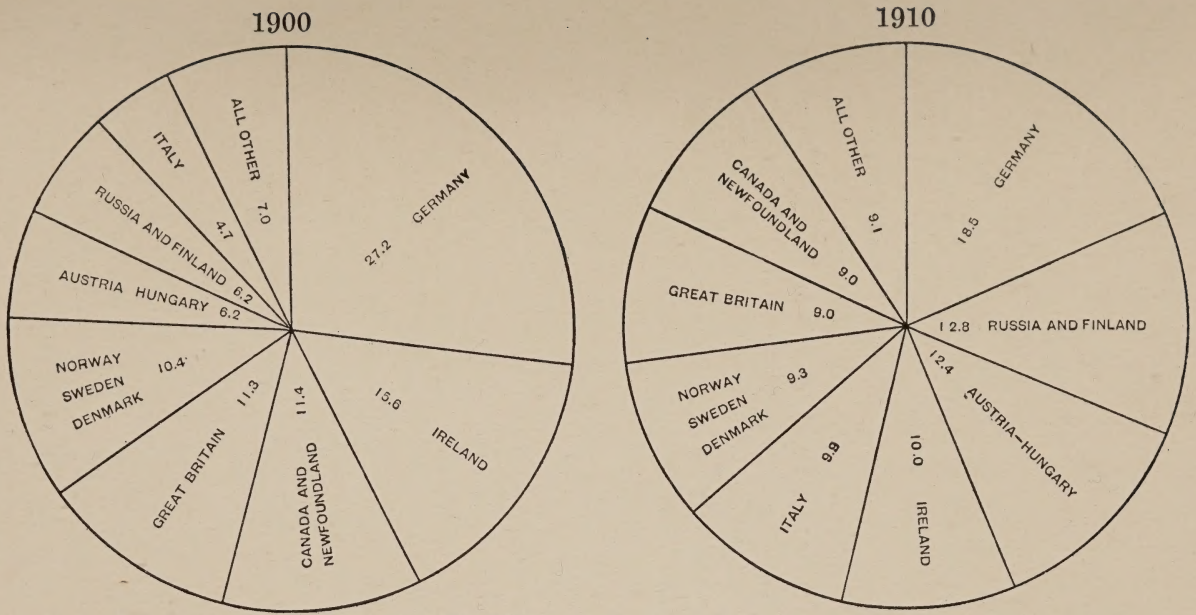
almost reached 1,453,000. To-day Germany is sending to us on the average less than one-fifth the number it sent in the decade preceding 1890.

Emigration from Germany has dropped rapidly. In 1908 the total leaving the empire was less than twenty thousand, the smallest number for any year of the past three decades and quite a decline from the more than three hundred thousand which marked the height of German immigration to this country in the seventies and eighties. What are the more important economic influences that have brought about this striking change?

In the late seventies and early eighties all political Germany was convulsed with public discussions in the Reichstag and elsewhere over the emigration of its citizens, which by then had reached astounding proportions. During the twenty years preceding 1870 more than two million one hundred thousand people had emigrated. One effect of the nation's appreciation of this loss was that in the eighties there came into control or direction of emigration from Germany a new factor. This was the active interference of the state, and under the guidance of Bismarck it took on two aspects. One was a new colonial policy for the German Empire, necessitating a change in the attitude of the government toward emigration; the other was an active concern in the welfare of the workers of Germany.

TEN YEARS' CHANGES IN THE FOREIGN BORN

The startling changes that have taken place the past ten years in the composition of our foreign-born population are shown in these two diagrams. In each, beginning at the top where the year is marked, the countries are arranged in the order of their contribution, with the percentage each represents of the total. Germany heads the list in both diagrams, but at the same time its proportion has been reduced from more than one-fourth (27.2 per cent.) in 1900 to less than one-fifth (18.5 per cent.) in 1910. Note in particular the striking changes in positions as well as increases in proportions among the newer immigrant countries. These latter can be compared with each other, with the older immigrant countries, and as to their relation to the total, both for 1900 and 1910. Nearly all these changes are explained by the facts that the immigrants coming here earlier from the northwestern European countries are naturally older and are dying off more rapidly, that the volume of immigration from those countries has diminished, and that from the eastern and southern European districts the increase in immigration in recent years has been very great.



By Courtesy Bureau of the Census

TEN YEARS' CHANGES IN THE FOREIGN BORN

Up to the time that the German Empire under Bismarck welded the discordant states under one strong central government, the right of expatriation was not questioned and freedom to emigrate was in general accorded to the people. But the new colonial policy recognised, or rather emphasised, the fact that German emigrants to America instead of remaining Germans, retaining their allegiance to the Fatherland and continuing to be consumers of German products, in reality became Americans. The belief was now inculcated that if this stream of emigration had been properly controlled and directed, Germany would have been much more prosperous and powerful. In consequence, beginning in the late seventies German official circles no longer regarded with favour emigration to the United States but aimed to direct the emigrant's going for the good of the mother country. A feature of this new colonial policy was the purchase of large manorial estates in Prussia which were cut up into small farms and made attractive to prospective agricultural emigrants. Associations were formed to advocate certain colonial projects for diverting German emigration from the United States.

Consul Wamer, reporting from Cologne in 1886, stated that one of the most difficult problems which the German government had to deal with in recent years was the question of emigration, and an earnest desire was being evinced

to devise ways and means for checking its course. For this purpose measures were brought forward and submitted to trial. Emigration had reached its climax in 1881, amounting to more than 221,000 or about double the number of the preceding year.

"This state of things created alarm," reported Consul Wamer, "and the matter was repeatedly referred to in the German Reichstag. The government, having hitherto been fencing rather than dealing practically with the question, now found it necessary to devote special attention to the matter. Several measures were proposed, but they failed to remedy the evil. Under such circumstances the government resolved to turn the outflow, if possible, into other and new channels than that of the United States, and from that date a colonial policy came into existence."

But all the efforts made by the German government to stimulate emigration to Brazil and to the German colonies in Africa and Asia did not succeed in directing any considerable proportion of the stream away from the United States. Its efforts in another direction, however, were much more fruitful of results.

The enormous emigration to the United States before the eighties of the best class of the German population, drove the German people into legislation that applied paternal protection to the working classes. Through this legislation improved industrial and economic

conditions were consciously brought to the mass of the people by governmental action. Such schemes as insurance against sickness, the payment of sums by employers to support hospitals, compensation to the workers for industrial accidents, old age pensions, employment benefits and the like, turned from the employing class a large part of the product they otherwise would have taken and arbitrarily transferred it into the hands of the toilers. The welfare of the German workman was enhanced by his being given a wider range to his employment, by a rise in his standard of living, and by various means that provided for his greater comfort. Thus from the late seventies and early eighties date the German system of mine and factory inspection, that of sickness and disability insurance for employés by employers, and the accident insurance law, the latter being passed in 1886.

These measures raised considerably the economic status of the German worker, and upon them is based his present-day prosperous condition. They were naturally not without effect upon checking emigration to the United States. Especially has the German Imperial Government carefully considered the interest of bettering the material condition of the labouring classes and of counteracting emigration by promoting industries, by building public streets, railways, and canals, by improving the condition of dwelling-houses for the labouring

classes, by favouring and encouraging savings banks and colonisation, by forming and cultivating trade-unions for the assistance of sick and injured workmen, and by furthering guilds, industrial corporations, and so on. The conditions of dwelling-houses for workingmen and their families are, as a rule, comfortable and sanitary, and stand under rigid police regulation. There are any number of factories that are models for the convenience, comfort, intellectual and corporal welfare, and happiness of their workingmen and their families. The consequence is that strikes among mechanics, miners, and employés of large industrial works seldom, if ever, occur.

This governmental solicitude for the industrial workers of Germany is indicated in the following quotation from the address of the German Emperor to his council of state in 1890: "The protection to be accorded to the working classes against an arbitrary and limitless exploitation of their capacity to work; the extent of the employment of children, which should be restricted from regard for the dictates of humanity and the laws of a natural development; the consideration of the position of women in the household of workmen, so important for domestic life from the point of view of morality and thrift; and other matters affecting the working classes connected therewith—are susceptible of a better regulation. . . . No less important for assuring peaceful relations

between masters and men are the forms in which the workmen are to be offered the guaranty that, through representatives enjoying their confidence, they shall be able to take part in the regulation of their common work, and thus be put in a position to protect their interests by negotiation with their employers. The endeavour has to be made to place the representatives of the men in communication with the mining officials and superintendents of the State, and by that means to create forms and arrangements which will enable the men to give free and peaceful expression to their wishes and interests, and will give the State authorities the opportunity of making themselves thoroughly informed of the circumstances of the workmen by continually hearing the opinions of those immediately concerned and of keeping in touch with them. Then, too, the further development of the State-directed industries, in the direction of making them pattern examples of effective solicitude for the workmen, demands the closest technical study."

The consciousness in the mind of the German workingman that his government was taking a more active interest in protecting his person and rights has undoubtedly been a factor in affecting emigration from Germany since 1880. Besides this, there is no question but that Germany's protective policy following 1880 opened a greater number of opportunities for the employment of labour within the empire.

This is shown by the statistics of almost every industry during the succeeding five years. For illustration, the Mannheim district of South Germany, which some fifty years or more ago sent out large emigration, witnessed very little the past decade. This change was due largely to the fact that there has been a rapid development of industries and manufactures with fair industrial conditions for the workers.

Efforts of the German government to discourage emigration to the United States, which policy first became noticeable in the eighties, resulted in many obstacles being placed in the way of the native German desirous of leaving his home country.

"As it is now," reported United States Consul Loening at Bremen to the State Department in 1886,* "the emigrant has to run a gauntlet before getting out to sea. When a German wishes to emigrate he has to go through a lot of red tape before he is allowed to leave his village. He must first get a statement from the tax collector that he is not in arrears for taxes; then a statement from the military commander in regard to his military standing, whether he has yet to serve or not; then, with these papers, he goes before the Landrath (district Judge), and petitions for a pass, which, after much delay, is granted to him if everything is satisfactory. At the railroad station

* United States Consular Reports: Emigration and Immigration.

every emigrant must show his pass or give a satisfactory account of himself; if not, he is held back. Then again, as the emigrants board the steamer four government special agents stand at the gang plank and examine each emigrant. No newspapers receive or accept advertisements of a nature to induce or encourage emigration, and no posters or circulars of any kind whatsoever in relation to emigration are permitted by the authorities in public places, and so on. Even the sending of such through the mails is suppressed. An emigrant forwarding agent told me that the German government will not allow him to have agents in the interior of Germany; that they refuse to grant a license to do business, sell tickets, and so on, and that soliciting emigration is strictly prohibited."

Not only does the government in these and numerous other ways discourage emigration to the United States, but the public press of Germany is also generally more or less openly opposed to all emigration, except possibly that to Brazil and the German colonies in Africa and Asia.

It is with Germany, then, as we have found it to be with England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark,* that the economic influences at work at present are to give

* In Switzerland the government, the public, and the press are in general opposed to emigration chiefly because it takes away the agricultural population. French emigration to the United States has always been comparatively slight.

us in the near future no large immigration from these countries. On the contrary, they point to a continuance of its decline! In brief, the economic opportunities of those who might emigrate from these countries are now nearly as great at home as they are in the United States. These opportunities, once so widely apart, have more nearly approached a level. This has come about through an improvement of conditions in these European countries and by a relative decline in the prospects of the immigrant in the United States—he no longer has before him here the chance for economic independence through land ownership.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FUTURE OF IMMIGRATION—THE NEW

A LINE drawn across the continent of Europe from northeast to southwest will divide countries having not only distinct races but also distinct civilisations, says Professor Commons. It will separate the Scandinavian Peninsula, the British Isles, Germany, and France from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Turkey—it will divide Teutonic races from Latin, Slavic, Semitic, and Mongolian races. All of the Teutonic group, from whose loins has sprung the American stock in the United States, are self-governing nations holding allegiance to no other race and tending strongly towards democracy; the others, for the greater part, are subject peoples bound down by the chains of absolutism.

Such a line not only divides countries of representative institutions and popular government from absolute monarchies, but also Protestant Europe from Catholic Europe. It separates lands where education is universal from lands where illiteracy predominates,—an educated, thrifty peasantry from a peasantry scarcely a single generation removed from serfdom. It divides manufacturing countries, pro-

gressive agriculture, and skilled labour from primitive hand industries, backward agriculture, and unskilled labour. "When the sources of American immigration are shifted from the Western countries so nearly allied to our own, to Eastern countries so remote in the main attributes of Western civilisation, the change," says Professor Commons, "is one that should challenge the attention of every citizen." * These two entirely different sources of immigration are clearly indicated in the map facing page 40.

From the countries of the Teutonic races—the northwestern European group—we have seen that the United States is not likely to receive in the near future any considerable immigration.

As to the eastern and southern European or newer immigrant countries—Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Greece, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Turkey, and so on—the economic tendencies are quite different. They have a combined population to draw upon in excess of 291,000,000,† and this vast reservoir of peoples has so far hardly been even tapped by the large immigration streams already flowing from some of them into the United States. This number represents about two and one-fourth times the combined population of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Den-

* Commons: "Races and Immigrants in America."
† Statesmen's Year Book, 1911.

Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

JEWS AND POLES FROM RUSSIA

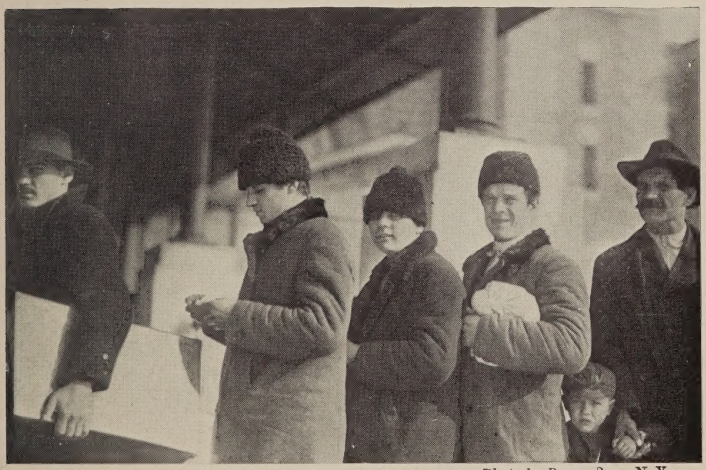


Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

POLISH IMMIGRANTS ENTERING ELLIS ISLAND

mark, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, those European countries from which the greater part of our earlier immigration was drawn.

From Russia at present come most largely Hebrews from the Jewish Pale of Settlement in the western part of the country,* and fewer Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, and Germans, to whose departure the Czar's government offers little interference. On the contrary it can be said that they are virtually being expelled because of their refusal to submit to a policy which might assimilate them with the dominant Slavic race.

Russia every year shows an enormous increase in the number of its inhabitants, so much so that the military exactions of the government no longer prove such an onerous burden to the eligible population, as there are so many from which to draw the recruits. Recent economic stress and political struggles within the empire show the nation to be in a ferment that almost at any time may break down the barriers against Slavic emigration. That this opposition is growing weaker is indicated by the fact that while "formerly public sentiment and the press were strongly against emigration" this attitude is changing and no

*As much as five-sixths of our Jewish immigration is from Russia, and almost all the remaining one-sixth from Austria-Hungary and Roumania. Our earlier immigration of Jews was from Germany. At the present time is noticeable the beginning of Jewish immigration to the United States from Turkey, both European and Asiatic.

longer is emigration discouraged.* Prior to the eighties no subject could emigrate from Russia without the consent of the Czar's government, and even the right of expatriation was denied. This is still true, legally, but in practice a change is noticeable in recent years.

If the sluices now closed against the vast multitude of Slavs within the empire are once raised by the Russian government, it is probable that a flood of emigrants would pour forth the likes of which the world has never seen and which would make our present large immigration appear insignificant. We now receive comparatively few Slavs from Russia.

Of the total immigration of more than 2,391,000 from Russia to the United States since 1820, not quite fifty-two thousand came before 1880. Since that year—in the past thirty years only—there have arrived more than 2,339,000, an average yearly inflow of nearly seventy-eight thousand. Most of these are Russian Jews, whose migration has become marked since 1881 owing to religious and political persecution by the Czar's government, accompanied by occasional anti-Semitic riots against them by the Russian peasants. In the ten years only from 1900 the immigration from Russia reached nearly 1,598,000, more than three times what it was in the preceding decade and nearly one-

* Special Consular Reports on Emigration to the United States, Vol. XXX, 1904, Department of Commerce and Labour, Bureau of Statistics.

half of all our immigration from Russia for the ninety years since 1820.

Austria-Hungary has a population of about forty-seven million, some five million more than England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. To-day it already holds third place among the countries of the world contributing to our foreign-born population. And immigration from that country has only just begun.

Of the total of more than 3,172,000 arrivals from Austria-Hungary since 1860 a little over sixty-three thousand came in the twenty years before 1880 and more than 3,108,000, or an average for each year of over one hundred thousand, during the past thirty years. For the ten years only preceding 1910 there came more than 2,195,000, or nearly seventy per cent of our entire immigration from Austria-Hungary.

All present indications point to a continuance of this large immigration from Austria-Hungary, which will likely be punctuated by fluctuating periods of prosperity and depression in the United States. For it is made up almost entirely of rough unskilled labourers, whose coming and going will be greatly affected by business conditions here.

The new Hungarian emigration law will have the effect of making this movement even more marked, as the emigrant from Hungary to-day is being taught by various means and devices to retain his Hungarian citizenship and dom-

icile. One of these induces him to remit his surplus earnings regularly to Hungary instead of investing them in America. Through clergymen, newspaper men, consuls, and other representatives, the Hungarian government expects to hold the emigrant under tutelage while he is here. This changed attitude of the Hungarian government has resulted in a larger proportion of these immigrants returning to their home country than formerly, which is also partly due to direct instigation of relatives who are constantly stimulated by the Hungarian press. In 1903 the Royal Hungarian Commissioner of Emigration was created and placed in charge of an emigration bureau. At the same time temporary license was granted the Cunard Steamship Company to transport emigrants from Fiume to New York, under which arrangement the emigrant receives the protection of his home government on the whole journey.* Hungarian officialdom willingly sees if it does not openly encourage the emigration of all Slavs, such as the Slovaks, Croatians, Ruthenians, Servians, and also the non-Slavic Roumanians, provided they are not liable to military duty.

While in Austria all who leave the country are supposed to obtain passports, this did not prevent an emigration of nearly five hundred thousand labourers in the decade preceding

* United States Consul Chester reporting in 1904 from Budapest, Hungary, Special Consular Reports on Emigration.

1903. The temporary nature of this emigration is reflected in the fact that very few ask to be released from allegiance to their native country. It is also comparatively easy for an Austrian subject to emigrate in violation of the law requiring military service.

United States Consul Hossfield, reporting from Trieste, Austria, as late as 1903, stated that "the migratory movement to the United States is likely to continue and even to increase in case of continued prosperity in the United States. There is at present no probability of any change in the character of the emigrants from Austria-Hungary."

Consul McFarland, located in North Bohemia in Austria, reported in the same year that "emigration in normal times will increase from this section much in the same proportion as in the past few years."

Consul-General Skinner, stationed at Marseilles, France, also sees "no reason to anticipate a decrease in the tide of undesirable immigration." While Marseilles is in France it is the terminus of a large number of Mediterranean lines having steamships to Russia, Austria, Italy, Greece, and Asia-Minor, and thousands of the emigrants embarking at that port come from these foreign countries.

In Italy public sentiment and the press are both favourable to emigration, the newspapers promptly drawing the attention of the emigrating class and those interested in emigration to

any event that is favourable or detrimental to them in any part of the world. A general emigration office has been established in Rome by the Italian government, with offices at the ports of embarkation, for the regulation and protection of emigrants, and in this way the movement is carefully watched and followed. Rules and regulations in the interest of emigration have been enacted and are constantly issued. The Royal Commissioner-General of Emigration alone decides whether emigration is to be permitted to any particular region.*

Consul Byington, reporting to the Department of Commerce and Labour in 1904, referred to the increasing emigration to the United States from Italy. "In comparison with the emigrants to the United States, the movement from Italy to other countries is small and is practically confined to emigration to South American countries," he said. "The increase in the movement to the United States is due principally to the diminished Brazilian immigration, owing to difficult economic and commercial conditions in that Republic; to the scarcity of work in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay; and to the prevalent idea among Italians that in the United States employment can always be found with good pay, that living is comfortable and cheap as far as necessaries are concerned, that all labourers are treated like

* Special Consular Reports on Emigration to the United States, Vol. XXX, 1904, Department of Commerce and Labour.

free men, and that the rights of foreigners, no matter how humble, are respected."

The change in the destination of Italian emigrants came about in the eighties. For the ten years preceding 1876 the United States was receiving an insignificant proportion, almost eighty per cent of all Italian emigration being to other parts of Europe and only eighteen per cent to all America, to this country and Canada coming less than fifteen hundred of the 109,000, that is, less than two per cent. Even ten years later, in 1886, when America was receiving forty-six per cent, or nearly one-half, as much as twenty-six per cent of this was to South America and only eight per cent to the United States and Canada.

Of our total immigration of more than 3,086,000 from Italy between 1820 and 1910 not quite seventy thousand came before 1880 and more than three million since that year. This is a yearly average since then of more than one hundred thousand. Of the three million not quite 2,700,000, or all but three hundred thousand, have come since 1890; more than two million have arrived since 1900. The Italian immigration for the past ten years has been as much as two-thirds, or 66.3 per cent, of the entire immigration from Italy for the past ninety years.

Partly because of this recent enormous emigration the Italian government has found it necessary to undertake measures for alleviating

the condition of its labouring population. Among these is a scheme for old age pensions, in 1898 a national fund being established to which additions are to be made annually. The other scheme is the adoption of a somewhat liberal employers' liability act. A fund for insurance against accident, provided for in 1883, was amended by the passage of a much more liberal statute by Parliament in 1898. In addition, there have sprung into existence all sorts of co-operative friendly societies, savings banks, and the like. These and similar measures, however, affect most largely the population of northern Italy and may be expected in time to check emigration from that section. But our largest Italian immigration comes from southern Italy—from the agricultural districts very little affected by these governmental measures.

Immigration from all of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy in 1861, the first year we have a complete record of immigration from the three countries, numbered 1,096, being thirteen from Austria-Hungary, 129 from Russia, and 954 from Italy. In the single year 1910 there came from these three countries more than 660,000—from Austria-Hungary about 259,000, from Italy 216,000, and from Russia 187,000. Combined they have been giving to us during the past thirty years an average inflow every twelve months of more than 282,000—for each month of the year 23,500.

Mr. Bryce, conjecturing as to the future of

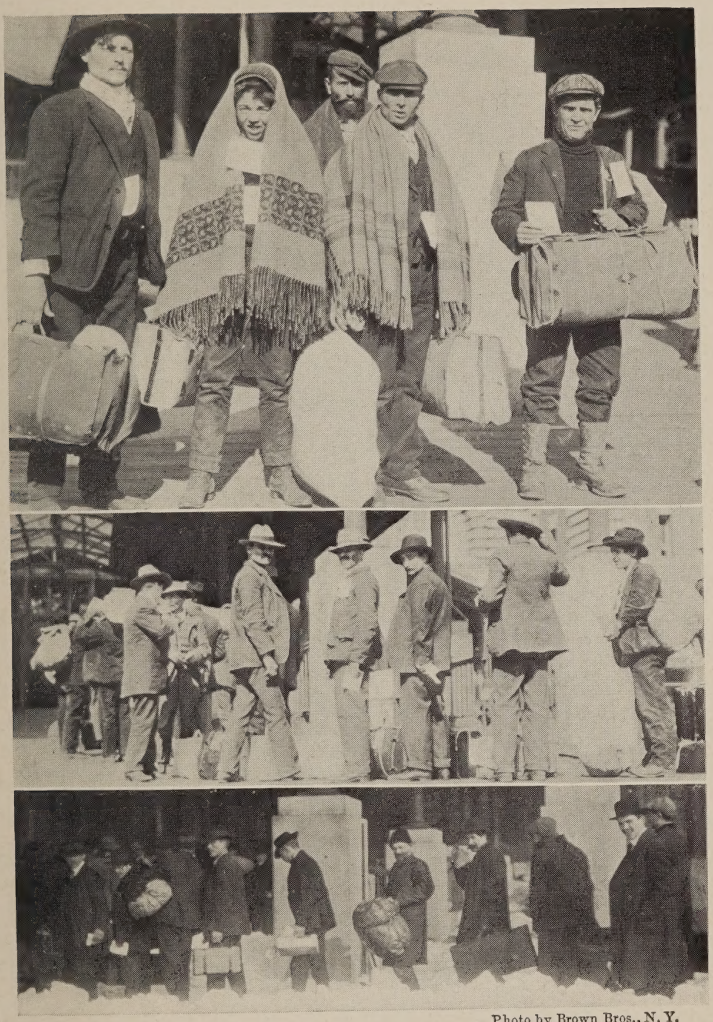


Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

ITALIANS AND GREEKS

immigration, says: "It may, therefore, be expected that the natives of these parts of Europe, such as Russia, Poland, and South Italy, where wages are lowest and conditions least promising, will continue their movement to the United States until there is a nearer approach to an equilibrium between the general attractiveness of life for the poorer classes in the Old World and in the New." Mr. Bryce also states, however, that the stream is likely to diminish in the future if a period as long as forty years is considered.*

From Greece our immigration has just begun. In 1886 Consul Moffett was able to report that "from all parts of the Kingdom comes the same reply, 'there is no emigration to the United States or to any other country.'" But in 1900 the foreign born in the United States from Greece numbered nine thousand and in 1910 exceeded one hundred thousand. Greece has a population of 2,500,000,† the same as Denmark and slightly in excess of that of Norway.

The character of this emigration from Greece is indicated in the statement of United States

* Bryce: "The American Commonwealth," Vol. II.

† In seeking the sources of Greek immigration to the United States we must search beyond the European mainland of Greece. These sources spread over more than the small broken peninsula stretching down from eastern Europe and into the Mediterranean, because a large proportion of the present Greek population is in other Mediterranean districts—in Smyrna and Constantinople—lands ruled over by the Sultan of Turkey.—Fairchild: "Greek Immigration to the United States."

Consul McGinley, reporting to the Department of Commerce and Labour in 1903, who says: "Many thousands from Sparta and vicinity have emigrated to the United States, some villages sending nearly all their able-bodied men, the women remaining to till the soil and care for the herds and flocks until the men return. A very small percentage of the Greek emigrants go to foreign countries with the intention of remaining there. They all go abroad with the intention of bettering their financial conditions and nearly all intend to return to their native land sooner or later. . . . It is almost impossible to find a young man or boy in the villages or on the farms who does not live in hopes of getting away to America as soon as possible." The Greeks being a prolific race and as a nation confined to a small and limited land area, are constantly throwing off a surplus population. The present emigration to the United States is "a radical, violent exodus of all the strong young men." * We have by no means seen the last of it—in fact, only its beginning.

Other countries of southern and eastern Europe also show recent increases in their immigration to the United States. The foreign born here from Roumania increased more than four-fold the past ten years—from about fifteen thousand to nearly sixty-six thousand. Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Turkey not specified,

* Fairchild: "Greek Immigration to the United States."

had a combined population in this country in 1910 in excess of twenty-six thousand, whereas ten years before it was not of sufficient importance to be enumerated separately by the census. The immigration from Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro in the single year 1907 rose to more than twenty-seven thousand. It is only temporarily checked by the present war of the allies against the Turks.

During the ten years preceding 1910 our foreign born from Turkey in Europe increased from less than ten thousand to nearly twenty-nine thousand. Turkey in Asia gave us a foreign-born population of almost sixty thousand, whereas ten years before, in 1900, there was none enumerated by the census. Prior to the eighties no subject could emigrate from Turkey without the permission of the Sultan's government. What is more, at that time even the right of expatriation was denied.

The immigration to the United States in 1910 of more than eighteen thousand from Turkey in Europe included nearly nine thousand Greeks, about five thousand Bulgarians, Servians, and Montenegrins, nearly one thousand Hebrews, not quite seven hundred Turks, some two hundred Armenians, and so on. The fifteen thousand from Turkey in Asia coming in 1910 included 5,536 Syrians, nearly five thousand Armenians, 3,693 Greeks, 450 Turks, 435 Hebrews, and so on. The coming of the Armenians dates from the Kurdish atrocities,

which were marked by horrible butcheries or massacres.

Thus in southern and eastern Europe and western Asia, great reservoirs of races and peoples are only just now beginning to be tapped by the ocean steamship lines. European and Asiatic Turkey have a population of twenty-four million, Roumania of six million, Bulgaria 3,750,000, Persia 7,650,000, and Servia 2,500,000.* There is the possibility, yes, even the probability, that within the coming ten years these races, now comparatively strangers among our foreign-born population, may become as numerous in the United States as have those from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy in the decade just closed.

This is likely to prove true not alone because of the adverse economic conditions surrounding the populations in these eastern European and western Asiatic countries but also because of the changed conditions in the United States. Our country no longer offers the superior opportunities that were taken advantage of by the Teutonic races prior to 1880. Economic conditions surrounding the great majority of the people here are very little if any better than those the older immigrant races now find in their home countries. This change would of itself have checked immigration from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Scandinavia regardless of the improved economic con-

* Statesmen's Year Book, 1911.

dition which we have seen has been brought about in most of them.

In contrast with this, the economic possibilities or opportunities the United States offers at present to the unskilled worker are much better than those prevailing in Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the countries of the Balkan Peninsula. This is true because the masses of those countries have been accustomed to a much lower standard of living and thus can save on a wage that barely supports the Teutonic and native worker.

The United States has only just begun the development of her material resources by means of industrial organisation. Into the foundation of this organisation our captains of industry seem to have successfully built, for a long time to come at least, a very low wage—a wage too low to support decently and comfortably the native worker. Our governmental organisation or political state has so far been powerless to prevent this. Our manufacturers have even begun to use our governmental machinery in their campaign to capture the markets of the world. This competition in world markets must meet a low wage and in consequence the demand of the American manufacturer for cheap labour will not only continue in the future but it will also most likely become even more insistent. Governmental action to prevent this anti-social demand from becoming effective, such for instance as the

restriction of immigration by Congress, is very unlikely. In consequence we should not be surprised if immigration for the coming years is of even greater volume than that of the past decade and more. The larger part of it—virtually all of it—must come from the eastern and southern European and western Asiatic countries, where the standard of living of the masses is very little if any above the mere cost of the coarsest subsistence.

Unless effective restrictive measures are enacted by Congress, this immigration will continue indefinitely until more of an equilibrium is established between the economic rewards to toilers in those countries and in the United States. This result can come about only through a slow and gradual process of economic adjustment, in the meantime continuing here among our own citizen-workers a low wage and in consequence a low standard of living.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROMISE OF AMERICA—WILL IT BE FULFILLED?

It is pertinent at this point to inquire, What is the purpose of America? Or rather, as Mr. Herbert Croly puts it, What is the Promise of American Life? The answer to this question must necessarily be preceded by a discussion of the fundamental reason for establishing the American Republic.

This has never been more clearly perceived or expressed than in the "Letters of an American Farmer," written by a French immigrant, Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, and published before the Revolution. In a sense it may be regarded as a projected view of what the founders of the New Republic pictured to themselves as the goal they had conscientiously set for themselves. To this immigrant from France it was but natural that he would first be impressed by the apparent and conscious differences which he saw between conditions affecting the great majority of the people in the Old and in the New World.

Referring to the American, this immigrant-author says: "Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labour; this labour is founded on the basis of

self-interest. Can it want a stronger allurement? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded a morsel of bread, now fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed them all; *without any part being claimed either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord.*"

So important is this idea printed in italics that the fear of being charged with repetition does not prevent my calling attention to it still further. Commenting upon it Mr. Croly, in "The Promise of American Life," says: "According to this French convert the American is a man, or the descendant of a man, who has emigrated from Europe chiefly because he expects to be better able in the New World to enjoy the fruits of his own labour. The conception implies, consequently, an Old World in which the ordinary man cannot become independent and prosperous, and, on the other hand, a New World in which economic opportunities are much more abundant and accessible. America has been peopled by Europeans primarily because they expected in that country to make more money more easily. To the European immigrant—that is, to the aliens who have been converted into Americans by the advantages of American life—the Promise of America has consisted largely in the opportunity which it offered of economic independence and prosperity. Whatever else the better

future, of which Europeans anticipate the enjoyment in America, may contain, these converts will consider themselves cheated unless they are in a measure relieved of the curse of poverty."

This expresses concisely one of if not the fundamental idea in the minds of the political geniuses who fashioned our form of government—the idea that for every human being in America there was to be a fair amount of economic independence. It was primarily to secure this that religious and political freedom and educational opportunities were wrested from the hands of monarchy.

This fundamental idea upon which American civilisation as represented in the United States is based has not changed with the centuries—it is not one whit different to-day than one hundred and thirty years ago. "Its expression has no doubt been modified during four generations of democratic political independence," says Mr. Croly, "but the modification has consisted of an expansion and a development rather than of a transposition. The native American, like the alien immigrant, conceives the better future which awaits himself and other men in America as fundamentally a future in which economic prosperity will be still more abundant and still more accessible than it has yet been either here or abroad. No alteration or attenuation of this demand has been permitted. With all their professions of

Christianity their national ideal remains thoroughly worldly. They do not want either for themselves or for their descendants an indefinite future of poverty and deprivation in this world, redeemed by beatitude in the next. The Promise, which bulks so large in their patriotic outlook, is a promise of comfort and prosperity for an ever-increasing majority of good Americans."

This is about as concrete an exposition or explanation of the basal idea of American civilisation as it is possible to formulate or express. The emphasis, it is to be noted, is on the economic condition of mankind. Heretofore, in building the frame of our government, the political has been too much if not over emphasised. But the political liberation was only a means to an end. The end was a certain degree of economic liberty and independence, and this could only be secured through political institutions or governmental power.

As Mr. Croly further says: "This economic independence and prosperity has always been absolutely associated in the American mind with free political institutions. The 'American Farmer' traced the good fortune of the European immigrant in America, not merely to the abundance of economic opportunity, but to the fact that *a ruling class of abbots and lords had no prior claim to a large share of the products of the soil.* He did not attach

the name of democracy to the improved political and social institutions of America."

Whether this exploitation be by abbots and lords and kings, or by captains of industry and capitalists and bankers, it matters not in the effect upon the exploited. Whether it be through the fear of future damnation, or by war levies and superior physical force, or by cunning and ingenuity through special privileges, high tariffs, unfair taxation, or high prices and low wages, the same ends are attained.

Just as soon as the American fully grasps the significance of these methods by which the exploitation is now being carried on he will as ruthlessly seize hold of the political machinery to strike at the captains of industry and capitalists and bankers, with as little regard for the private interests of these as he has shown in the past for the private welfare of abbots and lords and kings. As an illustration, witness the innumerable "investigations" the present Democratic Congress has instituted against the so-called trusts and monopolies. The American idea is at bottom a certain degree of economic independence for the masses; political and social institutions are merely means to this desired end.

Concretely, this explains the disturbed situation and deep social unrest in the United States to-day. The average man, and especially the industrial toiler, finding it harder to "get

along " than did his father before him, has come to a conscious realisation that he is being unfairly exploited—that he is not getting his proper or just share of the wealth he largely assists in producing—and as a result he is reaching out to grasp hold of the political institutions which, once firmly secured, he will use to seek out the exploiters and destroy their power.

It was to this end that the special American political system was devised. It was purposely made democratic, uncompromisingly so, and through all these years it has become indissolubly associated in the American mind with the persistence of abundant and widely distributed economic prosperity. " Our democratic institutions," continues Mr. Croly, " became in a sense the guarantee that prosperity would continue to be abundant and accessible. In case the majority of good Americans were not prosperous, there would be grave reasons for suspecting that our institutions were not doing their duty." But the more consciously democratic the Americans became the less they were satisfied, says Mr. Croly, with a conception of the Promised Land which went no farther than a pervasive economic prosperity guaranteed by free institutions.

" The amelioration promised to aliens and to future Americans was to possess its moral and social aspects. The implication was, and still is, that by virtue of the more comfortable and less trammelled lives which Americans were en-

abled to lead, they would constitute a better society and would become in general a worthier set of men. The confidence which American institutions placed in the American citizen was considered equivalent to a greater faith in the excellence of human nature. In our favoured land political liberty and economic opportunity were by a process of natural education inevitably making for individual and social amelioration. In Europe the people did not have a fair chance. Population increased more quickly than economic opportunities, and the opportunities which did exist were largely monopolised by privileged classes. Power was lodged in the hands of a few men, whose interest depended upon keeping the people in a condition of economic and political servitude; and in this way a divorce was created between individual interest and social stability and welfare. The interests of the privileged rulers demanded the perpetuation of unjust institutions. The interests of the people demanded a revolutionary upheaval. In the absence of such a revolution they had no sufficient inducement to seek their own material and moral improvement. The theory was proclaimed and accepted as a justification for this system of popular oppression that men were not to be trusted to take care of themselves—that they could be kept socially useful only by the severest measures of moral, religious, and political discipline."

And this in general is the system that prevails

to-day in most European countries. It is not the American system of democracy—in fact, this democracy is the very antithesis of European theory and practice. Here in America, as Mr. Croly so well says, "the people were to be trusted rather than suspected and disciplined. They must be tied to their country by the strong bond of self-interest. Give them a fair chance, and the natural goodness of human nature would do the rest. Individual and public interest will, on the whole, coincide, provided no individuals are allowed to have special privileges. Thus the American system will be predestined to success by its own adequacy, and its success will constitute an enormous stride towards human amelioration. Just because our system is at bottom a thorough test of the ability of human nature to respond admirably to a fair chance, the issue of the experiment is bound to be of more than national importance. The American system stands for the highest hope of an excellent worldly life that mankind has yet ventured,—the hope that men can be improved without being fettered, that they can be saved without even vicariously being nailed to the cross."

This fair chance is what the native workingman is aiming to retain for himself by organising into labour unions. He is compelled to do this largely because he is being deprived of the fair chance to secure a decent wage for his labour by the tremendous influx of cheaper

European labour. He dreads being nailed to the economic cross of a dependent old age, and he dreads also pauperism for his wife and children.

This fair chance is what the average American is seeking to-day in his groping through the labyrinth of political remedies that have been suggested as the cure for his economic ills, such proposed remedies as the initiative, referendum, and recall, direct presidential primaries, popular election of United States senators, a judiciary more responsive to the public welfare, governmental control or supervision of trusts and monopolies, tariff reduction, and the like. It is because former President Roosevelt in his "square deal" philosophy voiced the principles of this fair chance that he has become so greatly endeared in the hearts of millions of Americans.

The people of the United States in their mad haste, especially since the Civil War, to develop the material resources of mine, field, and forest, have been neglectful of their political heritage. They are now being brought up with a sharp jolt by the obstacles that this neglect has permitted to grow in the path of their institutional progress. They are being compelled to stop a moment and look about them.

After describing and commenting upon the physical "home" of the American nation Mr. Bryce, in the latest edition of "The American Commonwealth,"* says: "Thus it is left to

*Vol. II, page 468.

itself as no great State has ever yet been in the world; thus its citizens enjoy an opportunity never before granted to a nation, of making their country what they will to have it. These are unequalled advantages. They contain the elements of immense defensive strength, of immense material prosperity. They disclose an unrivalled field for the development of an industrial civilisation." Here in this country we "are trying, and that on the largest scale, the most remarkable experiment in government the world has yet witnessed."

Penetrating and accurate, clear-visioned and optimistic, as this distinguished English commentator often is, he is not bold enough to enter upon a prophecy as to what that civilisation will be or as to how this experiment will turn out. But he does say something which the present writer has interpreted as applying to the subject we have under discussion.

"There is a part of the Atlantic where the westward speeding steam-vessel always expects to encounter fogs," Mr. Bryce says. "On the fourth or fifth day of the voyage, while still in bright sunlight, one sees at a distance a long low dark-gray line across the bows, and is told this is the first of the fog-banks which have to be traversed. Presently the vessel is upon the cloud, and rushes into its chilling embrace, not knowing what perils of icebergs may be shrouded within the encompassing gloom.

"So America, in her swift onward progress,

sees, looming on the horizon and now no longer distant, a time of mists and shadows, wherein dangers may lie concealed whose form and magnitude she can scarcely yet conjecture. As she fills up her western regions with inhabitants, she sees the time approach when all the best land, even that which the extension of irrigation has made available, will have been occupied, and when the land now under cultivation will have been so far exhausted as to yield scantier crops even to more expensive culture. Although transportation may also have then become cheaper, the price of food will rise; farms will be less easily obtained and will need more capital to work them with profit; the struggle for existence will become more severe. And while the outlet which the West now provides for the overflow of the great cities will have become less available, the cities will have grown immensely more populous; pauperism, now confined to some six or seven of the greatest, may be more widely spread; and even if wages do not sink work may be less abundant. In fact the chronic evils and problems of old societies and crowded countries, such as we see them to-day in Europe, will have reappeared on this new soil, while the demand of the multitude to have a larger share of the nation's collective wealth may well have grown more insistent.

"High economic authorities pronounce that the beginnings of this time of pressure lie not

more than twenty years ahead. . . . It may be a time of trial for democratic institutions." *

What is happening to those priceless political institutions—those blood-bought rights and liberties bequeathed to us by our forefather patriots? If we were suddenly called upon for an accounting of our inheritance—of our stewardship—would we be found to have guarded them with our very lives themselves in order to hand down these institutions untarnished and uninjured to our children? Of what real worth is all the material wealth of America alongside the loss of or even damage to our political institutions which guarantee equality before the law, civil rights, political liberty, and religious freedom? How far is the "Promise of American Life" being fulfilled?

"We find that our democratic theories and forms of government were fashioned by but one of the many races and peoples which have come within their practical operation, and that that race, the so-called Anglo-Saxon, developed them out of its own insular experience unhampered by inroads of alien stock," says Professor Commons, in his "Races and Immigrants in America." "When once thus established in England and further developed in America we find that other races and peoples, accustomed to despotism and even savagery, and wholly unused to self-government, have been thrust into the delicate fabric."

* Vol. II, page 973.

The situation confronting us to-day is also complicated a thousand-fold by the tremendous differences between the qualities of the peasant immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and the American whose forefathers erected our edifice of representative democracy. These peasants, says Professor Commons, have been reduced to the qualities similar to those of an inferior race that favour despotism and oligarchy rather than democracy. They have become almost a distinct race, drained of those superior qualities which are the foundation of democratic institutions. Upon the outcome " depends the fate of government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

This makes it imperative for us " as a people whose earlier hopes have been shocked by the hard blows of experience," to pause and to take invoice " of the heterogeneous stocks of humanity that we have admitted to the management of our great political enterprise. The earlier problem was mainly a political one—how to unite into one self-governing nation a scattered population with the wide diversity of natural resources, climates, and interests that marks a country soon to stretch from ocean to ocean and from the arctics to the subtropics. The problem now is a social one,—how to unite into one people a congeries of races even more diverse than the resources and climates from which they draw their subsistence. That motto, *' E pluribus unum,'* which in the past has guided

those who through constitutional debate and civil war worked out our form of government, must now again be the motto of those who would work out the more fundamental problem of divergent races. Here is something deeper than the form of government—it is the essence of government for it is that union of the hearts and lives and abilities of the people which makes government what it really is." *

To Mr. Wells this immigration of diverse races is a very important part of a mental and moral issue. He says: "There seems to me an economic process going on that tends to concentrate first wealth and then power in the hands of a small number of adventurous individuals of no very high intellectual type, a huge importation of alien and unassimilable workers, and a sustained disorder of local and political administration. Correlated with this is a great increase in personal luxury and need. In all these respects there is a strong parallelism between the present condition of the United States and the Roman Republic in the time of the early Cæsars; and arguing from this alone one might venture to forecast the steady development of an exploiting and devastating plutocracy, leading perhaps to Cæsarism, and a progressive decline in civilisation and social solidarity." †

Mr. Wells further says: "I do firmly be-

* Commons : "Races and Immigrants in America."
† Wells : "The Future in America."

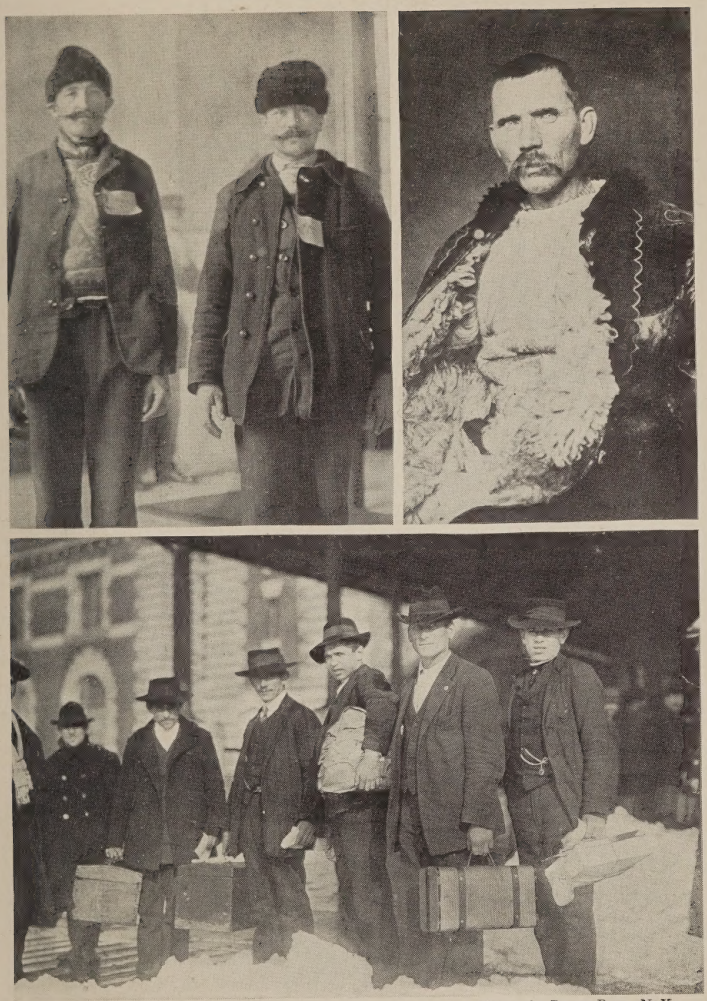


Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

FROM HUNGARY AND BULGARIA

lieve that America might conceivably come more and more under the control of a tacitly organised and exhausting plutocracy, be swamped by a swelling tide of ignorant and unassimilable labour immigrants, decline towards violence and social misery, fall behind Europe in education and intelligence, and cease to lead civilisation. In such a decay Cæsarism would be a most probable and natural phase, Cæsarism and a splitting into contending Cæsarisms."

Some of the very evils that the recent importation of cheap European labour has already brought to us were perceived by our forefather patriots. Somehow or other the attitude of our great constitutional leaders on the subject has been misinterpreted by the present generation. It is true that the colonies resounded with the cry that this country was an "asylum for the oppressed" and "the refuge of nations," but the terms were not used then in the sense they are being made to serve at the present time. In brief, it is hardly probable that in the interpretation of any of the other views of our forefathers have we made such a wide departure as we have in permitting and encouraging such an indiscriminate inflow of aliens from other lands. It is true, the problem to-day, with hundreds of thousands, even millions, coming to us each twelve-month from all parts of the world, is entirely different from what it was in 1789 when they numbered mere hundreds. This is all the more reason, how-

ever, why, if our forefathers in their day were alarmed over their small immigration, we should at least stop long enough in our mad haste for wealth to ponder as to the consequences to our national life of the present huge inpouring.

Washington's chiefest concern as regards the effects of immigration was as to the influence of the appointment of aliens as officers in the army. On more than one occasion he protested against the practice. As to the general subject of immigration, he expressed himself in a letter to Vice-President Adams dated November 1794.*

Washington said: "My opinion, with respect to emigration [immigration], is, that except of useful mechanics and some particular descriptions of men or professions, there is no need of encouragement; while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for by so doing they retain the language, habits, and principles, good or bad, which they bring with them; whereas, by an intermixture with our people, they or their descendants get assimilated to our customs, measures, and laws—in a word, soon become one people." In a later letter to Sir John St. Clair, England, he said: "I have no intention to invite immigrants, even if there are no restrictive acts against it; I am opposed to it altogether."

* Sparks: "The Writings of Washington," Vol. XI.

From the writings of Washington, Hamilton, and Madison there seems to be no other conclusion to be drawn than that these statesmen favoured only a very gradual immigration as the kind best adapted to the rapid and complete assimilation of the alien into an American citizen. No other result of immigration was to be permitted or thought of for a moment.

Even Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, whom we might expect to find on the other side of the question, believed not only in careful selection, but also in the restriction of immigration. His foresight in this as in many other of the great problems affecting our young republic, clearly foreshadowed some of the evils which unlimited immigration has brought and is bringing to us.

In his "Notes on Virginia," writing of the population of America, Jefferson says: "The present desire of America is to produce a rapid population by as great importation of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? . . . Are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantages expected from the multiplication of numbers, by the importation of foreigners? It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonise, as much as possible, in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of

government has its specific principles. Ours, perhaps, are more peculiar than any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others, derived from natural right and reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such we expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they have imbibed in early youth; or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. Their principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their number they will share with us in the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to experience, during the present contest, for a verification of these conjectures; but if they are not certain in event, are they not possible, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience for the attainment of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable?"

The views and arguments of these great statesmen are even more applicable to conditions of to-day than to those of one hundred

years ago—they have only grown in strength as the decades have gone by.

This is true because the material upbuilding of the country, which heretofore has been the strongest argument in continuing immigration, has reached such a point that the pleas now based upon it are no longer logical, conditions having so greatly changed in recent years. The development of our material resources has advanced to that stage where, for the greater part, our forests have been cleared, our deserts reclaimed, our fields broken by the plough of cultivation, our rivers bridged, our mountains tunnelled, our railroads constructed, and our cities built for habitation. Much that needed the immigrant for its performance has been accomplished. We can no longer be sure of providing places for incoming millions in the future without seriously jeopardising the welfare of our present and expected native inhabitants.

Continued immigration must be paid for by a continuance of present low wages. This tendency even to-day is the leaden weight that is holding back the democratising of our industrial organisation. Growing unemployment among ever larger groups of workers, the rising death-toll from preventable accidents and occupational diseases, the startling increase in poverty among our industrial classes, the discarding by our industries of men in their forties for the labour of the much younger immigrants—

these are only a few indications of the horrors which the future holds in store.

We are in greater danger than ever that economic forces will operate in particular to lower the standard of living of our citizen-workers. It is more essential in a democracy than under any other form of government that this standard should be jealously guarded and raised to as high a point as possible. The loss of it, either consciously or unconsciously by the workers, would mean inevitable and dire disaster to our republican form of government. This it is quite possible for immigration to bring about.

"Excessive immigration," said the late Professor Mayo-Smith, "may overstock the labour market and reduce wages; or immigrants accustomed to fewer of the comforts of life may supplant the native workmen. In either case we have brought undue pressure to bear on the mass of the people and have forced them down to a lower level. We have substituted the lower for the higher, and preferred that which is inferior. Economic well-being is a difficult thing for a nation to acquire, and once acquired is too precious to give up without a struggle. Once lost it may require generations to attain again, even if the economic conditions are favourable." *

The industrial competition in the United States to-day of men or races for jobs and

* Mayo-Smith: "Emigration and Immigration."

wages is, in brief, nothing more or less than the play of economic forces for the perpetuation of institutions based upon standards of living. "The future of American democracy," as Professor Commons so well says, "is the future of the American wage-earner. To have an enlightened and patriotic citizenship we must protect the wages and standard of living of those who constitute the bulk of the citizens."

This is true because our workers are not only citizens but also husbands and fathers—they have wives and children to support, the latter to educate, and the task of maintaining a home for them. They cannot do all this upon the comparatively high plane that American institutions demand of them if they are compelled to meet the competition of immigrant races having no such demands upon them. For it must never be forgotten that "the competition of races is the competition of standards of living; that this competition has no respect for superior races; and that the race with the lowest necessities displaces others."

This economic principle of competition which already has forced such injurious social and industrial conditions upon our toilers, is operating to-day in all our industries to the detriment of the American workingman and his citizenship. It is the bed-rock principle upon which should rest all opposition to immigration that favours its restriction. It substantiates the contention that our national policy towards the

cheaper immigrant labour should no longer be one of virtually unlimited "free trade" but that a policy should be adopted and put into practice that will give to the American workingman "protection" in maintaining his higher standard of living and through it our political institutions and American civilisation. Around immigration to-day centre many of those acute so-called labour problems that have given to us such a large number of strikes and lockouts at the cost of so much blood and treasure. To it much of our poverty is traceable, directly as well as indirectly. The effects of this competition have entered into the very marrow and bone of our national political and social life and have affected and continue to affect injuriously the proper development of our form of government and of our institutions. The Promise of American Life, which was held out in the institutions our forefathers created, is not, in consequence, being fulfilled.

All this is true in spite of the fact that the immigrant has built our railroads, tunnelled our mountains and rivers, bridged our streams, felled our forests, mined our coal and iron and copper, erected our factories and industrial plants, built our skyscrapers, even our cities themselves, and in a score and more ways aided in our material development.

To the immigrant America owes much. But this debt to those that have come cannot be paid by admitting all the oppressed in Europe who

now seek our shores. This is especially true when to continue immigration in its present huge volume is to risk losing much of that progress towards establishing human rights which has been attained. Misplaced sympathy quite frequently leads to false reasoning, and false reasoning can quite easily result in national suicide.

CHAPTER XV

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

WHILE on the boardwalk in Atlantic City recently two men stopped in front of the window display of one of the art stores. Among the objects therein which centred their attention was an ornamental desk-picture.

"Isn't that a natural looking skull?" exclaimed one.

"What a perfect figure of a woman," said the other.

Each was at once conscious that the other was observing the same object, and both scrutinised it more closely. But it was some little time before the two became convinced that each was right. For the picture represented the nude figure of a woman so posed as to form an exact life-like reproduction of a grinning skull, if a skull can be said to be life-like.

Similarly, different people studying and observing the immigration phenomenon do not always see the same thing—they receive different impressions from it. Sometimes the other view is apparent to their consciousness but usually their mind is so taken up with their own view that the other is of lesser significance.

One view of immigration is that which is conspicuous to the worker who has been and is being

driven out of his position by the immigrant; to members of the labour union struggling to control this competition and to maintain their standard of living; to those who see the socially injurious and individually disastrous effects upon the American worker of this foreign stream of cheap labour; to those who know the pauperising effects of a low wage, long hours of work, and harsh conditions of employment; to those personally familiar with the poverty in many of our foreign "colonies"; to those acquainted with the congested slum districts in our large industrial centres and cities and the innumerable problems which they present; to those who long and strive for an early realisation of Industrial Democracy.

All these and others, when they look at immigration, do not see that view which is typified in the graceful figure of the beautiful woman of the desk ornament. Instead, conspicuous to them is the grinning skull.

The other view is seen, however, by those who believe that the immigrant is escaping from intolerable religious, racial, and political persecution and oppression; whose sympathies have been aroused by a knowledge of the adverse economic conditions of the masses of Europe; by those immigrants and their children already here who desire to have their loved ones join them; by producers and manufacturers seeking cheap labour; by those holding bonds and stocks in steamship companies receiving large revenues

from the transportation of the immigrant; by those who see subjects of European despotism transformed into naturalised citizens of the American republic, with all that this implies for them and for their children.

All these and others, when they look at immigration pouring into America, see only its advantages—they do not see its grinning skull aspect.

The so-called good side of immigration is seen primarily from the viewpoint of the immigrant himself. Any perspective of immigration through the eyes of the alien must necessarily, as a rule, be an optimistic one. Although some of them are possibly worse off in the United States than if they had remained in their European home, at the same time the larger number improve their condition by coming to America. Let us admit, then, that immigration benefits the immigrant.

Thus are indicated two views of immigration. These opposite views are very rapidly dividing the American people into two camps or parties—those who favour a continuance of our present liberal policy and those who are striving to have laws passed that will further restrict immigration. The different groups are made up for the most part of well-intentioned people looking at identically the same national problem but who see entirely different aspects or effects—some see the repulsive grinning skull, others the more attractive features.

To attribute bad motives to the employer of labour who favours unrestricted immigration is no different than asserting that all purchasers who aim to secure any particular commodity at the lowest price also have bad motives. You would not think of charging one who seeks to buy, say, shoes or flour, at the lowest price with having bad motives. So with the employer of labour. Like all consumers he simply aims to secure the commodity labour at the lowest price. Nor can we charge him with being inconsistent when, as a producer, he demands just the opposite policy as regards the importation of the commodity he has to sell, because in this case, like all producers, he aims to secure the highest price. He is benefited both by unrestricted immigration and by the restricted importation of commodities similar to that which he produces. He seeks, then, the unrestricted importation of cheap labour—free trade in immigration—and the restricted importation of commodities similar to those he has to sell—protection to his industry.

But the employer of labour is not the only "economic" man. The enlightened American workingman objects to unlimited or free trade in immigration because it prevents him from securing a higher wage for his labour. And when a sufficient number of them see more clearly their economic self-interest they will with equal determination oppose protection because, as a general statement, it compels them

to pay a relatively higher price for the commodities they purchase. Their interests lie in restricted immigration—in Protection against cheap labour—and in Free Trade as regards the commodities they consume.

The self-interest of the employer, then, is in free trade in immigration and in protection to the commodity he produces; that of the worker is in free trade in the commodities he consumes and in protection against immigration. Under our present national policy of free trade in immigration and protection to industries the self-interest of the employer is favoured and that of the worker opposed.

Neither as a consumer nor as a producer has the American workingman received fair treatment. The argument has become commonplace, indeed it was so before the Tariff Commission of 1882, with employers as well as representatives of trade unions, that American labourers must be protected against competition from the pauper labour of Europe. The American workingman was receiving at that time on an average one and one-half times the English wage, twice that paid in Belgium, three times the rate customary in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. The effective way of protecting this wage would have been to control the coming here of the foreign labourer who competed for it and not protect with high duties the manufactured product. It was assumed and even stated that at least part of the enhanced profits

accruing to the protected American manufacturer were to be applied in the form of wages in order that the American worker might meet his higher cost of living, which was two and three times that of the European worker. But it has not worked out that way. The manufacturer, it is true, has received his protection but with the higher prices thus secured he has turned round and is purchasing the cheaper labour of the immigrant whom he induces to come here.

Our object should be so to adjust or compromise these conflicting interests that no injury will result to our industries by preventing them from securing at a fair wage the labour of which they are in need, or to our workers by permitting unrestricted immigration to overcrowd the labour markets and thus depress wages and lower the standard of living. A fair wage must be insisted upon.

The just view of immigration, then, is that of the public good—the social viewpoint. The worker should be protected against the competition of cheap labour sufficiently to enable him to secure a comfortable living wage. This is essential to social progress.

The investigations of the Federal Immigration Commission appointed by President Roosevelt show an over-supply of unskilled labour with a low standard of living in all our basal industries to an extent which indicates an over-

supply of unskilled labour in the industries of the country as a whole.

Commenting upon this, in support of its recommendation for the restriction of immigration the Commission says: "It is desirable in making the restriction that—(1) a sufficient number be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labour; (2) as far as possible, the aliens excluded should be those who come to this country with no intention of becoming American citizens or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives or children. (3) As far as possible the aliens excluded should also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated or would make the least desirable citizens."

The Immigration Commission has performed a very useful and valuable service in lifting the immigration question out of the rut of futile discussions and controversies as to the racial qualifications and defects of the immigrant and in placing it firmly upon the foundation of economics. This is where it belongs and this is where it should be kept.

One who looks at immigration long enough—who studies it thoroughly and conscientiously—

will see all sides. He cannot help sympathising deeply with the immigrant, however strongly his intelligence directs his inner vision to conclusions that favour immigration restriction. He would wish that he had not a choice to make. But if he has undertaken to observe, record, and interpret truthfully the facts of life that have come under his observation and study, he would be a coward to run away from the decision to which these facts inevitably lead.

In the final analysis, intelligence and not sympathy must be the guide to our opinion—must be the measuring rule of our conclusion. A physician who permits his sympathy for those who may suffer from the prescription his knowledge of the laws of medicine tells him he must administer—a surgeon who refuses to inflict pain where it is necessary to save life—cannot lay claim to a high place as a physician or surgeon. For one to permit his sympathy to override his intelligence in such cases is to commit a crime. In the analogous case the offence is even greater—it is a high crime against Society.

Those who favour the further restriction of immigration have two powerful arguments to overcome—the one of sympathy and the other of self-interest. The sympathy argument comes partly from those immigrants who have succeeded here and who are familiar with the intolerable economic conditions from which they

fled and by which their relatives and fellow countrymen are still oppressed. It comes also from the humanist who knows no political boundaries but would have all persecuted peoples come here and partake of the blessings of liberty and freedom. The self-interest argument comes in part from the foreign ship owners and the American employés of these corporations that are reaping a rich harvest each year through the transportation back and forth of steerage passengers; in part from the corporations and manufacturers the amount of whose dividends depends upon securing an unlimited supply of men who will labour for a low wage. And this self-interest argument has back of it, if need there be, all the money necessary to convince the people that continued immigration is good for the country.

Morris Hillquit, a Russian Jew, himself an immigrant, I believe, was a few years ago a candidate for Congress in one of the East Side districts of New York. Previously, in 1907, he had introduced at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Germany, a resolution favouring the restriction of immigration to the United States. Soon after came the campaign in which he was a candidate. Those familiar with the situation believe that his defeat was due largely to his attitude toward immigration. A large proportion of the voters were immigrants themselves and the children of immigrants. In the campaign Hillquit was carica-

tured in the East Side newspapers as standing at the gate of entrance to the United States which he had closed and was holding shut. Through the bars on the outside were represented the immigrants who wished to come in—the relatives and friends and fellow countrymen of the voters. The immigrants on the outside were weeping and wailing and struggling to pass into the land of freedom. But Hillquit would keep the gate closed! And Hillquit was defeated for Congress! The sympathy argument was effective.

In 1908, in the midst of widespread unemployment in virtually all our industries following the financial panic of October 1907, the Ethical-Social League of New York held a conference on unemployment at the Hotel Astor. At that meeting were presented the results of months of study as to the extent of unemployment made by disinterested investigators. The facts there disclosed were so important that nearly all the American correspondents of leading European journals cabled their papers a summary of the speeches. It was at a time when the unprecedented flow of the foreign born in the United States back to their European homes, a movement precipitated by the panic, had about reached its height and was on the decline. Two days following the Ethical-Social League meeting one of the correspondents called upon one of the speakers and stated that complaint had been made to his

newspaper by representatives of steamship companies, who objected to his cabled report of the conference proceedings. His paper had been requested to make a correction that would show industrial prospects in the United States to be more favourable to the employment of labour. Before writing this second article the correspondent stated that he wanted to be sure of his facts.

Immigration was then at its lowest ebb, and emigration from the United States back to Europe had become normal. This correspondent of the London newspaper, after a painstaking study of the situation, cabled a second article in which he substantiated the statements he had already made and in which he held out no brighter prospects for an industrial revival than he had in his first article. His journal had a news service extending to the principal capitals of Europe and in all of them his statements were published and circulated at the sources of immigration. Naturally their effect would be to check emigration from those centres.

Shortly thereafter, in nearly all the leading European journals, appeared what purported to be an interview with the official representative of a prominent charitable and philanthropic organisation of New York City. This interview stated that the bad effects of the panic had passed away, that industries were reviving, and that there was a general demand for labour

all over the country. Many more statements along this line were communicated in the interview, none of which represented the actual situation, because even at that time there was in all our industrial centres a large over-supply of labour waiting employment. But the immediate effect of the publication of this "official statement" in all the principal cities of Europe was to cause hundreds of thousands of immigrants who had gone home during the industrial depression to start again for the United States. The cost of their passage meant something like ten or fifteen million dollars to the steamship companies. The representative of the charitable society denied responsibility for the interview. This may be true. I don't know. But I do know that the self-interest argument finds innumerable devious ways of making itself effective.

Those who are desirous of settling the immigration question solely from the point of view of the best interests of the country are quite frequently sidetracked from the only real and fundamental argument into the discussion of relatively unimportant phases of it. The real objection to immigration at the present time lies not in the fact that Slavs and Italians and Greeks and Syrians instead of Irish and Germans and English are coming to the United States. Nor does it lie in the fact that the immigrants are or become paupers and crimi-

nals. The real objection has nothing to do with the composition of our immigration stream, nor with the characteristics of the individuals or races composing it. It is more than likely that the evils so prominent to-day would still exist if we had received the Slavs and Italians fifty years ago and were receiving the English and Irish and Germans at the present day.

The real objection to immigration lies in the changed conditions that have come about in the United States themselves. These conditions now dominate and control the tendencies that immigration manifests. At the present time they are giving to the country a surplus of cheap labour—a greater supply than our industries and manufacturing enterprises need. In consequence this over-supply has brought into play among our industrial toilers the great law of competition. This economic law is controlled by the more recent immigrant because of his immediate necessity to secure employment and his ability to sell his labour at a low price—to work for a low wage. Against the operation of this law the native worker and the earlier immigrant are unable to defend themselves. It is affecting detrimentally the standard of living of hundreds of thousands of workers—workers, too, who are also citizens, fathers, husbands.

But who will do the rough work that must be done if we cannot get the immigrant? asks the liberal immigrationist. And to clinch his argu-

Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.

TYPES OF THE MORE RECENT IMMIGRANT RACES

ment he goes into raptures over the industrial characteristics of the immigrant and points out enthusiastically the important part the alien has played in America's material upbuilding.

Immigration tends to retard the invention and introduction of machinery which otherwise would do this rough work for us. It has prevented capital in our industries from giving the proper amount of attention to the increase and use of machines, says Professor Commons in "Races and Immigrants in America." "The cigar-making machine cannot extensively be introduced on the Pacific coast because Chinese cheap labour makes the same cigars at less cost than the machines. High wages stimulate the invention and use of machinery and scientific processes, and it is machinery and science, more than mere hand labour, on which reliance must be placed to develop the natural resources of a country. But machinery and science cannot be as quickly introduced as cheap immigrant labour. . . . In the haste to get profits the immigrant is more desired than machinery."

As long as cheap labour is available this tendency will continue. Even in spite of the large supply of immigrants who work for a low wage, what has already been accomplished along the line of adapting machinery to do the rough work is but indicative of what would be done in this direction if immigration were restricted.

By the use of machinery ten pair of shoes

can be produced in one-seventh the time required thirty years ago under the old hand method of production. That is, machinery now enables seventy pair of shoes to be produced in the time formerly required to make ten pair. Here is an increase in production through the machine of sixty pair of shoes! A sewing-machine enables one man to sew two hundred and fifty pair of shoes a day—to sew the same number in the same time by hand would require eight men. A heel-shaver used by one worker now trims three hundred pair of shoes a day—the same output formerly required three men. In the same industry one worker by the use of the machine in one operation handles three hundred pair of shoes a day, while without it he could handle but five pair. There is one machine in the manufacture of shoes that makes three hundred stitches a minute, and another that drives as many as three hundred pegs in as short a time as sixty seconds.

In the printing trade, the Hoe press enables one pressman and four assistants to print, cut at the top, fold, paste, and count, with a supplement inserted, seventy-two thousand eight-page newspapers in one hour. Formerly, without the Hoe press, the press work alone for this number of papers would have required a man and boy to work one hundred days at ten hours a day.

In the timber industry by the aid of the bucker machine twelve labourers can dress

twelve thousand staves, an average of one thousand per man; under the old hand method they could dress only two thousand five hundred, or about two hundred per man.

In paper making a machine for drying and cutting run by four men and six girls will do the work formerly done by one hundred persons and do it much better.

In the manufacture of saws two men with machinery can produce the same output formerly requiring five men.

To-day, in railway construction, a huge steam shovel devours in its steel jaws tons of dirt, large rocks, and even trunks of trees as it digs its teeth into the embankment or side of the hill and swings round to deposit its mouthfuls on the cars. Only three men are required to manipulate this machine which removes as much dirt in a day as would have taken hundreds of labourers many weeks under former conditions of railway construction. As fast as the embankment is eaten away, back along the roadbed in the path of the steam shovel comes another machine which lays the track. It handles ties and rails, and bolts them so rapidly that one marvels at the dexterity of the dumb and voiceless machine. This, too, is doing the work formerly requiring hundreds of labourers a much longer time. It is estimated that with the track-laying machine railway construction averages five miles a day, whereas formerly, with thousands of gang la-

bourers doing the excavating work, even two miles a day was regarded as satisfactory.

This steam shovel machine has accomplished equally marvellous results in ore mining, doing the work of armies of men and adding hundreds of millions of dollars to the wealth of the country. In one of the iron mines of Minnesota a single shovel picks up six tons of ore at a time and loads a fifty-ton steel car in three minutes. The construction of the Panama Canal has been made possible within a few years largely through the steam shovel.

These illustrations of the remarkable increase in the production of wealth that has come about in recent years through the invention and use of machinery could be extended indefinitely until every important industry in the United States was included, from the making of a needle to the construction of a fifty-six story skyscraper.

The machine is the modern Aladdin's lamp. By its aid man is acquiring control over the forces of Nature and is directing them at his bidding to wrest from her storehouses the wealth that ministers to his wants. And we have only entered upon The Era of The Machine. It holds in its possession the means that will free man from the Biblical injunction "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou labour."

As soon as labour becomes dear, then the machine will do the work we now have done by human toil because the machine is cheaper.

But so long as an inexhaustible supply of cheap foreign labour is dumped at the doors of our mills and factories, just so long will this Era of the Machine be postponed. The restriction of immigration will tend toward the more rapid introduction of machinery to do the rough work that it is necessary to have done as well as reducing the amount of rough work.

When any one suggests the restriction of immigration to those who believe in throwing open wide our gates to all the races of the world, the conclusion is immediately arrived at that the proposer has some personal feeling in the matter and that he is not in sympathy with the immigrant, As a matter of fact the restriction of immigration is herein suggested not alone from the point of view of the future political development of the United States, but also from that of the interest and welfare of the immigrant himself and his descendants. It is made in order to prevent them from becoming in the future an industrial slave class in America and to assist them in throwing off in their European homes the shackles which now bind them and are the primary cause of their securing there so little from an abundant world.

One of the strongest arguments in the past of the liberal immigrationist is that the downtrodden and oppressed of Europe are fleeing from intolerable economic, political, and re-

ligious conditions into a land of liberty and freedom which offers opportunities to all. It may be very much questioned if these immigrants are finding here the hoped-for escape from oppression and servitude and exploitation, for since the newer immigration began in the eighties there has come to dwell in America a horrible modern Frankenstein in the shape of the depressing conditions surrounding a vast majority of our industrial toilers. But even granting that the immigrants coming to us do better their condition, a very pertinent question is as to the effect the prevention of this immigration would have upon the countries from which it comes. If we grant that the immigrants are able-bodied, disposed to resent oppression and are striving to better their condition, Are they not the very ones that should remain in their European homes and there through growing restlessness and increasing power change for the better the conditions from which they are fleeing? As it is now, instead of an improvement in those conditions the stronger and more able-bodied—the ones better able to cope with them and improve them—are running away and leaving behind the less able and weaker members, who continue to live under the intolerable conditions.

If immigration to the United States were stopped one would not likely be far wrong in prophesying that either one of two things would happen in these European countries: Either

a voluntary remedying by the European Governments themselves of political, religious, and economic evils, or else those countries would soon be confronted by revolutions springing from this unrest of the people which now finds an escape through emigration to the United States. In this connection it is not without significance to recall the fact that Hampden, Pym, and Cromwell, "turned back by a King's warrant from the emigrant ship in which they had already embarked, remained to decapitate their sovereign and establish a commonwealth." The active and energetic, the discontented and rebellious against oppressive conditions are released by emigration from actively objecting to injustice; if kept at home these would in all probability remedy, in time, the most grievous conditions in oppressed Europe. Thus would be hewn a way to better conditions of life. Pent up discontent, unrelieved by emigration, would burst its bounds to the betterment of the general social conditions of the European masses.

Another phase of this same aspect of immigration is the fact that indirectly the United States which, if it stands for anything, stands in opposition to nearly all that is represented by the European form of government—this country, to a considerable extent, helps to keep in power these very governments against which it is a living protest. This is done in one way through the enormous sums of money that immigrants

in the United States send each year to the European countries.

It is estimated that from two hundred to two hundred and fifty million dollars are sent abroad annually to the more important European countries by the foreign born in the United States. Part of this enormous sum finds its way by direct and indirect taxation into the coffers of the Government and the Bureaucracy and thus tends to support and continue them in power. When this fact is kept in mind —the fact that nearly two hundred and fifty million dollars are sent abroad each year by immigrants in the United States—it is an argument that answers thoroughly the claim of large employers of labour that immigration is an advantage to the country in that it brings to us annually through the immigrant nearly $25,000,000. The fact is that an amount nine times greater than that brought in is sent out of the country each year by the immigrant.

Our attitude toward immigration, as indicated in the legislative enactments of Congress, presents a striking political phenomenon. The opposition of the people on the Pacific Coast to Chinese and Japanese immigration, for instance, has resulted in Federal legislative and executive enactments which virtually exclude from the United States all immigrants from China and Japan. In the case of China this enactment is the Chinese Exclusion Law,

which was passed by Congress in 1884. In the case of Japan virtual exclusion has been accomplished through treaty arrangements between Japan and the United States. Chinese and Japanese immigration, when compared with that from European countries, is insignificant—the former is numbered only by hundreds of thousands while the latter reaches the millions. In spite of this great preponderance of immigration from Europe, the political attitude of the Eastern states has for years been one of free trade instead of protection to the American workingman, which latter the Pacific Coast has been able to secure.

An explanation is to be sought in the varying conditions in the two sections. In the Eastern states the voting strength of the foreign born, hundreds of thousands of whom have become naturalised citizens and thus exercise the right of suffrage, has for years been recognised by both political parties. In many cases it has become a determining political factor. In not a few sections, and in quite a number of Eastern states, the foreign-born vote determines the election. Opposition to immigration, therefore, in the East in particular, would mean the defeat of any party taking the attitude either of restriction or exclusion. Germans and Irish and Welsh and Italians and Slavs and other nationalities who exercise the power of suffrage are not likely to support with their vote any party that aimed

to exclude their fellow countrymen from our country.

Even if the voting strength of the foreign-born element in the Pacific Coast states was as strong as in the eastern and middle western states, which it is not, the different conditions that prevail there would induce them to oppose rather than favour immigration. There, the foreign-born element is almost as strong for excluding Asiatic immigration as their fellow countrymen of the Eastern states are in favour of European immigration. This is because immigration to the Pacific Coast, if not restricted, would be principally Chinese and Japanese. Neither the German, the Irishman, the Welshman, the Italian, nor the Slav in the Pacific Coast states who favours the exclusion policy for that section, by doing so prevents any of his countrymen from coming to the United States. He merely keeps out the Chinese and Japanese, whose immigration he opposes because he sees and feels directly its unfavourable effects. Thus, on the Pacific Coast, the "sympathetic" or racial element is removed, or rather it is made to work in exactly the opposite direction than in the East. It is aggressively restrictionist because the competition of the cheaper Asiatic labour is seen more clearly there to affect the foreign born as seriously as it does the native.

This difference in the attitude of the two sections toward immigration is partly explained

in another way. While the manufacturing interests of the Pacific Coast states are just as desirous of securing cheap immigrant labour as are similar interests in the Eastern states, at the same time they are not as influential with our political parties or with the national legislature. The manufacturing interests of the East, much more effectively than those interests on the Pacific Coast, dominate what were once regarded as the servants of public opinion. In consequence, the eastern manufacturer is more able to influence any legislative machinery that might express opposition to immigration.

Neither has the great middle West taken any vigorous stand against immigration for the simple reason that the most distinctive element in that section has been and is still the immigrant farmer. As an immigrant he is not likely to oppose the coming of other immigrants—as a farmer he does not have to meet the severe competition which incoming immigrants bring to bear in the case of industrial workers. In not a few of the districts of the western states the immigrants outnumber the native Americans. The predominance there of agricultural interests is not conducive to developing opposition to immigration, especially as the recent immigrants are going most largely into the eastern industrial centres. Besides, the western farmer-immigrant is just as desirous of securing cheap labour as is the

manufacturer. For these reasons public opinion of the middle West has not opposed immigration.

The attitude of the South toward immigration shows a striking change since the Civil War. Previous to that time the Southern States did not concern themselves at all on the subject; they made no effort to secure immigration nor did they attempt to prevent it. The South was satisfied with its slave labour. There was no place in the agricultural South for the immigrant. What poor whites were there were economically superfluous, as virtually all the toilsome arduous work was done by the black slaves. Immigrants were prevented from becoming small landholders because of the plantation system. The dominant class in the South did not want them. Public opinion there was determined by a small minority. Since the Civil War, however, the Southern States have turned their attention toward securing immigration, and at various times have organised means and methods for inducing Europeans to settle there. This change in attitude is due primarily to a change in economic development, since the Civil War the Southern States having become more concerned with the industrial exploitation of their resources.

This difference in attitude toward immigration in different parts of the country is of the

greatest importance in attempting to view the future of immigration to the United States. Heretofore European immigrants have virtually been kept out of the Pacific coast section because of the expense of land transportation from the Atlantic immigration ports. But with the opening of the Panama Canal it will be almost as easy and very little more expensive for the European immigrant to land on the Pacific coast as it now is for him to reach the Atlantic section. Throughout the entire Pacific Coast states there has for years been a great demand for just that kind of labour which the southern and eastern European possesses. Opposition of the population to Asiatic immigration has heretofore prevented this demand from being supplied, and in consequence the Pacific Coast states have lagged behind in the development of their industries and manufactures. Not an insignificant part of the manufacturing needs of this population has to be met now by the transportation of the products from manufacturing centres in the East.

With the rush of European immigrants to the Pacific Coast states upon the completion of the Panama Canal, What will be the attitude of that section toward further European immigration? If one can judge from the attitude in the past of the Pacific Coast population toward immigration as represented in the Asiatic, the probability now is that they will

offer strong opposition to the equally cheap labour of the European—of the Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, and Italian. Will that section of the country, in expressing its opposition to this free importation of cheaper labour, repeat the experience of the past and bring about the restriction if not the exclusion of present immigration? All the arguments that were used against the Chinese on the Pacific Coast to secure their exclusion from the United States, are arguments that can be made to apply with equal force to the European immigrant races against whose admittance there has as yet been no legislative objection. It was claimed, for instance, that Chinese labour was servile, that it displaced native labour, that the Chinese immigrants sent money out of the country, that they were a vicious people, that they had set up for themselves their own government in California, that they would not assimilate with the natives, that many of them returned to their home country after they had made enough money, and that too many of them were criminals and paupers.

Those who argue that restriction of immigration would be in contradiction to the entire history of the nation seem to be unmindful of the facts concerning federal legislation in regard to the immigration to the United States of Chinese.

The platform of the Republican Party in California, adopted at Sacramento, June 20,

1894, contained these provisions among its planks: "We believe the time has come when the nation must take a firm and decided stand against the incursion of the underpaid and ignorant labourers of the Old World that are flocking here now in such numbers as to drive the American labourer from his work, with the increasing result, as seen at the present time, of causing disturbances in the manufacturing centres of the country, reducing the price of labour," and so on. "We demand the enactment and strict enforcement of such laws as will absolutely and effectually prohibit the immigration of all labour, both skilled and unskilled."

Never before in the history of this people, with the possible exception of the Revolutionary and Civil War periods, have they been called upon by the inexorable logic of economic forces to decide so momentous a question. For immigration is fast becoming a political issue. Congressmen and like politicians whose position and self-interest will not permit them even to suggest let alone vote for immigration restriction may postpone action by the appointment of commissions and in other ways but they cannot ultimately prevail. There is hardly a score of Congressmen to-day in the north Atlantic and north central states who do not hold office by virtue of the foreign vote, or, to put it another way, there is only a comparatively small number who would not be defeated if the

foreign-born citizens within their districts voted for an opposing candidate. Therefore, no Congressman who values his position dares jeopardise his prospects of reëlection by favouring the restriction of immigration. Nor is any one of the three national parties eager to risk alienating the alien vote by voluntarily inserting in its platform an effective immigration restriction plank.

The situation is also complicated from still another point of view, that of the immigrant races themselves. It is possible, in fact more than probable, that the Germans in the United States, for instance, would as a body favour the restriction of, say, Italian immigration if they could be assured that nothing would be done to interfere with those coming here from Germany. And so with other races as compared with the immigration from a different country. But it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to frame a legislative measure restricting immigration that will not affect all the races—one that will receive the support of the foreign-born population as a group. In fact, virtually all objection or opposition to any suggestion as to immigration restriction comes from the immigrant races themselves. As for the attitude of the native, he seems for the greater part to be apathetic when it comes to taking some practical action to remedy conditions, although his grumbling and open opposition is becoming louder than ever before.

Our present statutes, except as they relate to labourers brought in under contract, exclude only such manifestly undesirable persons as idiots, the insane, paupers, immigrants likely to become a public charge, those with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, persons whose physical or mental defects prevent them from earning a living, convicted criminals, prostitutes, and the like. Even a strict enforcement of these laws makes it possible to keep out only the poorest and worst elements in these groups who come here.

Referring to the fact that certain undesirable immigrants are not being reached by the present laws the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, Mr. William Williams, says:* "We have no statutes excluding those whose economic condition is so low that their competition tends to reduce the standard of our wage worker, nor those who flock to the congested districts of our large cities where their presence may not be needed, in place of going to the country districts where immigrants of the right type are needed. As far back as 1901 reference was made by President Roosevelt in his annual message to Congress to those foreign labourers who 'represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labour market and drag them to a lower level,' and it was recommended that 'all persons

* In the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1910.

should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial fields as competitors with American labourers.' There are no laws under which aliens of the class described can be kept out unless they happen to fall within one of the classes now excluded by statutes (as they sometimes do); and yet organised forces are at work, principally on the other side of the ocean, to induce many to come here whose standards of living are so low that it is detrimental to the best interests of the country that the American labourers should be compelled to compete with them."

To regulate, and this means to restrict immigration so that we may continue to receive its benefits while at the same time the welfare of the country is safeguarded against its evils, is the issue.

A number of methods have been suggested. One is the so-called illiteracy test. It has received the endorsement of the majority of the members of the Federal Immigration Commission, "as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration." This test would require all immigrants, before they are admitted, to be able to read and write in some language; those failing to meet this requirement would be debarred or excluded.

Another proposed measure is that which would increase the head tax. At present immi-

grants entering the country must pay such a tax to the amount of two dollars. If this were increased to, say, fifteen or twenty-five dollars, or even more, the assumption is that the class or group now coming here who are unable to pay the higher tax would remain in Europe. Then there is the money test—a scheme requiring every immigrant upon landing to have in his possession a sum of money equal at least to a minimum amount stated in the law. Another proposition is that which limits arbitrarily the number of aliens entering the country in any one year. Still another plan would regulate the steerage accommodations of the steamships so as to limit the number of immigrants a vessel could bring on any one trip. Another proposal would exclude all unskilled labourers who come unaccompanied by wives or children.

All these are designed to safeguard our people and nation, not from immigration but from the evils of too much immigration, even of "good" immigration. It is a curious fact, but none the less a fact, that too much, even of something that in moderate amounts is good for us, may become very injurious—so injurious as to necessitate the regulation of the quantity we should have. The quantity of present immigration is no bugaboo but a real danger threatening most seriously the success of "The American Experiment" in government and social organisation. It is such as to over-tax our wonderful powers of assimilation.

A friend inherited a country estate and had a dam built across a small stream flowing through the grounds, forming a small lake. An opening in the dam permitted the water to flow out gradually for the benefit of the plants and flowers and shrubbery of various kinds dotting the lawn below the lake. The dam was not intended to provide against an extraordinary inflow.

But a sudden and wholly unexpected rain storm brought such a rapidly flowing and large volume of water as to wash away the presumably strong dam and to cause ruin and devastation among the flowers and shrubbery.

In the case of the immigration stream now pouring in huge volume into the United States, Have we, through our public schools and like safeguards, erected a sufficiently strong dam to protect our institutions? Our forefathers bequeathed to us an educational system that was designed and which was supposed to be strong enough to withstand any flood of ignorance that might beat against our institutions. But this system was not devised in any of its particulars to care for the great volume of ignorance which is now washing into the United States with tremendous force from out of eastern and southern Europe. In many respects it is even now too late to strengthen this educational system. What effect is this volume of ignorance, which is breaking in and overflowing our safeguards, to have on political and

religious structures and our social and national life? The defect has not been remedied, it has only been made all the more glaring, by compulsory school laws. If this educational system is to perform the much needed service of assimilating this immigration only a miracle of reorganisation and readjustment can now bring it about.

Immigration should be viewed with eyes that can see and with the intelligence that can interpret its effects upon our institutions. While it is true that men make institutions, it is also true that men destroy institutions. After the last word has been said by those who favour and by those who oppose immigration, it still remains to be asked, What is its effect upon our religious, educational, industrial, political, economic, and broad social institutions?

In our Republic these institutions, from the least important, if any such there are, to the greatest, rest upon the standard of living of the people. Anything that tends to keep that standard low—that prevents it from rising in response to the healthy demands of our democratic society—is injurious to all our institutions. Unrestricted and uncontrolled immigration, as at the present time, has this tendency. It works through wages, affecting them in two ways. First and foremost, it prevents wages from rising. Secondarily, in not a few industries it has actually lowered real wages.

This has come about, not so much in a lower rate of wages being paid but through the use by the purchasers or employers of labour of various devices of industrial exploitation which have grown up in nearly every industry. In the anthracite mines, for illustration, the immigration of the Slavs and Italians lowered wages, not by affecting the rate but by enabling the operators to increase the size of the car the miner was required to load, by raising the price of food at the company store, by higher prices for powder, by requiring a larger number of pounds to a ton, and in scores of other similar ways. It is this avenue through which immigration has affected wages that is overlooked by those apologists who try to prove by an array of figures that immigration has not affected wages adversely. Its effect upon wages cannot be shown by quoting the rate over different periods of time.

The statement that present immigration is affecting injuriously our democratic institutions is not the expression of a mere opinion; it is the recording of a well-considered conclusion to which one is led as a result of numerous investigations of the problem extending now over a period of thirteen years and more.

The late Francis A. Walker, who holds a distinguished place in the list of American economists, has this to say on the subject: "For it is never to be forgotten that self-defence is the first law of nature and of na-

tions. If that man who careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, the nation which permits its institutions to be endangered by any cause which can fairly be removed is guilty, not less in Christian than in natural law. Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, are brought into serious peril. All the good the United States could do by offering indiscriminate hospitality to a few millions more of European peasants, whose places at home will, within another generation, be filled by others as miserable as themselves, would not compensate for any permanent injury done to our Republic.

"Our highest duty to charity and to humanity is to make this great experiment here, of free laws and educated labour, the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained. In this way we shall do far more for Europe than by allowing its city slums and its vast stagnant reservoirs of degraded peasantry to be drained off upon our soil. . . . No nation in human history ever undertook to deal with such masses of alien population. That man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes that

we can take such a load upon the national stomach without a failure of assimilation, and without great danger to the health and life of the nation."

The coming of these "humble suppliants for entrance into the land of a people rich and strong" cannot but affect that people, says Mr. James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth." He inquires, "What changes in the character and habits of the American people will this influx of new elements make? elements wholly diverse not only in origin but in ideas and traditions, and scarcely less diverse from the Irish and Teutonic immigrants of previous years than from the men of predominantly English stock who inhabited the country before the Irish or the Continental Teutons arrived. This is the crucial question to which every study of the immigrant problem leads up. It is a matter of grave import for the world, seeing that it is virtually a new phenomenon in world history, because no large movement of the races of mankind from one region of the earth to another has ever occurred under conditions at all resembling these. But it is primarily momentous for the United States, and that all the more so because these new immigrants go to swell the class which already causes some disquietude, the class of unskilled labourers, the poorest, the most ignorant, and the most unsettled part of the population." And Mr. Bryce adds: "That there is

ground for anxiety in the presence of this vast and growing multitude of men ignorant and liable to be misled cannot be denied."

Let it not be forgotten that a low standard of living is an economic disease. It is very slightly removed from unemployment, pauperism, poverty, and so on, and it easily becomes, with only slight cause, these more clearly observable social diseases. It is injurious both socially and physically, just as are insanity, pauperism, dependency, loathsome and contagious diseases, criminality, and prostitution which are now causes for exclusion. A low standard of living is contagious, too; it is epidemic. We create boards of health and inspectors and establish quarantines to protect ourselves against the immigrant bringing physical diseases but nothing is done to safeguard society from what is equally bad if not worse—this economic disease of a low standard of living. It is permitted free access to our communities, forcing the American workingman in self-protection to resort to the labour or industrial union—to the closed shop, boycotting, strikes, and the like—and bringing to our people a long train of evils that already are taxing our institutions almost to the breaking point.

The American Republic, with its valuable institutions, approaches the parting of the ways. Fortunately the writing on the signboards is

plain. The choice the people are to make as to which way they shall go will determine the kind of civilisation that is to have its home in the United States for coming generations. This choice has to be made—there is no way out of it. It will be made even if no political or governmental action is taken. In this case the choice will be to continue our present policy of unrestricted immigration in cheap labour. This will mean a continuance of the development in feverish haste of the country's material resources by an inpouring of labourers with low standards of living and the perpetuation of a debased citizenship among both the exploited and the exploiters.

The alternative is to restrict immigration so that we can catch our breath and take an inventory of what we already have among us that must imperatively be raised to a higher standard of living and a safer citizenship.

Our decision means a choice between two conditions. By continuing our present policy we choose that which is producing a plutocratic caste class of idle nobodies resting upon the industrial slavery of a great mass of ignorant and low standard of living toilers. By restricting immigration we influence the bringing about of a condition that will give to a large body of citizens a decent and comfortable standard of living. This desired result is to be obtained by a more just distribution of wealth through wages and prices and dividends.

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